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ABSTRACT

This volume gathers a sampling of educators' ideas on the issue of the role of the non-standard dialect in the teaching of Spanish to Spanish speakers. Part one, "Rationale for the Teaching of Spanish to the Spanish Speaking," deals with philosophy and theory and contains papers by Guadalupe Valdes Fallis and Nasario Garcia. Part two, "Linguistic Description of Dialects," contains papers by Tracy Terrell, Jorge M. Guitart, and Edwin Blanco. Part three, "Methods and Techniques," contains papers by Rosaura Sanchez, Rosa P. Mines, Rodolfo Garcia-Moya, Anthony Girard Lozano, and Sergio D. Elizondo. Part four, "Evaluation," consists of papers by Richard E. Baecher, Janet D. Ziegler, Charles W. Stansfield, and Daniel N. Cardenas. The papers address the state of the art of Puerto Rican Spanish in the Eastern United States as well as Chicano Spanish in the Southwest. (AM)

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Teaching Spanish To The Spanish Speaking: Theory And Practice

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INTRODUCTION

The teaching of Spanish to the Spanish speaking in this country is not an innovation in education, for indeed, Spanish speakers for years have pursued formal study of the language. It is true, however, that there is currently a renewed interest in this important area of language teaching. It is a nation-wide trend prompted by the recognition of the many problems encountered by Spanish speaking students in our educational system and by the sincere efforts of dedicated teachers who are striving to maintain and develop the language resources of the second largest minority group in the United States. Efforts to teach Spanish to people who already speak some form of the language have not generally produced highly satisfactory results, although many in the field of language education can point to a few success stories.

One of the most controversial issues currently being discussed at length is the role of the non-standard dialect in the teaching of Spanish to Spanish speakers. What is it? What status does it have? Should it be permitted in the classroom and if so, in what manner? Should the non-standard dialect be taught instead of standard Spanish? All these questions as well as their far-reaching implications should be considered seriously by educators as they plan and implement this type of language program.

Equally important is the sharing of information among colleagues. Knowing what has produced good results and what has proven disastrous for a particular teacher can sometimes enable another to develop a more meaningful and effective program for his students. The concerns of educators in this special branch of language education encompasses a wide range of educational and scientific fields, including sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, dialectology, comparative/contrastive linguistics, methodology, evaluation, and teacher preparation.

The purposes of this volume is to initiate an exchange of ideas concerning the teaching of Spanish to the Spanish speaking. The views expressed in the papers at times represent conflicting philosophies and approaches which chould give the reader a good idea of some of

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PART I

RATIONALE FOR THE TEACHING OF SPANISH TO THE SPANISH SPEAKING

PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF TEACHING SPANISH TO THE SPANISH-SPEAKING IN THE UNITED STATES

by

Guadalupe Valdés Fallis

New Mexico State University

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Very little has been said about the teaching of Spanish to the Spanish-speaking in the United States. This is not surprising since traditionally Spanish has been taught in this country as a foreign language. Recently, however, perhaps because of the current preoccupation with minority groups in the United States, there has arisen a new interest in Spanish-speaking persons, their first language, and its future. The Hispanos[1] themselves for the first time seem to be aware of the importance of the Spanish language in their struggle to maintain and preserve their unique heritage. As a result, for the first time also the Spanish-teaching profession has begun to concern itself with the special problems surrounding the teaching of the language to native speakers.[2] In many areas, it is evident that times have changed. In many junior high and high school Spanish language classes, native speakers and non-native speakers are assigned to different sections, while at the college and university level, special courses have been added which have been designed especially for Spanish-speaking bilingual students.[3]

In spite of this apparent progress, however, a body of social, linguistic, or pedagogical theory concerning the teaching of Spanish to the Spanish-speaking in the United States has not been developed. Because of this, teacher attitudes concerning new programs, their basic purpose, the nature of the instructional process, the ordering of principal objectives, etc. are currently in a state of great flux. There exists, moreover, a clear and evident confusion concerning the legitimate philosophical position of the Spanish-teaching profession concerning this instruction. Certain groups within the profession speak of teaching standard Spanish as a second dialect, others speak of teaching the language as a native language, while still others are involved in studying the possibility of adapting existing textbooks for this specialized instruction. In essence it is difficult to ascertain what each of the various groups is doing as there is not, at this moment, a clear agreement concerning the use of terminology in general. It is often evident that two programs which describe their instructional goals and methods in precisely the same terms are, upon closer analysis, engaged in diametrically opposed activities. To one group of instructors, teaching Spanish to the Spanish-speaking means simply separating native and non-native speakers, while to others, it means engaging in a "remedial" type of activity with native speakers while non-native students are involved in true learning activities.

The purpose of this study is, then, to examine the various alternatives available to the Spanish-teaching profession in the teaching of Spanish to the bilingual Spanish-speaking student. It is our hope that by carefully delineating the implications of the different options with which we are concerned, it may be possible to establish priorities for future research, experimentation, materials preparation, and teacher training.

I. The Teaching of English and the English-Teaching Profession

Because of the fact that the English-teaching profession has already faced a number of the same problems which today confront the Spanish-teaching profession, a study of the aims, methods and alternatives which have been followed by this first group may well serve as an adequate point of departure for this discussion.

A number of years ago, the members of the English-teaching profession suddenly became aware, perhaps in the wake of the civil rights movement and the new emphasis on the language problems of minority groups, that teaching English to native speakers of the English language and teaching English to speakers of other languages were two entirely different things. It was evident that an English teacher trained to teach "language arts" at either the elementary or secondary level was simply not trained as a foreign language teacher. To those of us who have been trained in departments of foreign languages in the United States, this conclusion is not surprising. How well we know that native fluency in a language does not automatically prepare one for foreign language teaching! Nevertheless, for the English-teaching profession, this realization was a most important first step. And, as a result of this awareness, the English-teaching profession can at this moment be said to be divided into two main interest groups: the teachers of English to the native speaking and the teachers of English to speakers of other languages (ESL and TESOL). There is no antagonism between the two groups, only awareness on the part of both that they each deal with different problems that must be handled within different perspectives.

At the same time, and also in the wake of the civil rights movement, it has become apparent that certain "native" speakers of English have their own special and unique problems. We are referring here particularly to speakers of what is now known as "black English," a variety of the language long considered by many in the United States to be "bad" or "vulgar" or "limited" speech.

In this area then, the English-teaching profession faced a new problem. The students with which they were concerned were obviously speakers of English, but in many minds, speakers of the wrong kind of English, an English which was at best badly stigmatized and which many blacks and whites saw as a strong limiting factor in the lives of black persons trying to succeed among the dominant white majority. Once again the members of the profession witnessed the birth of a new interest group: those interested specifically in the teaching of standard English as a second dialect.

In many cases the lines between the traditional teachers of English and the new interest group merged. For many were, and are, interested in deciding when to teach the standard dialect, how to teach reading to speakers of a different dialect, what readers to use for these speakers, etc. The old-fashioned language arts teacher faced with a class of speakers of a non-standard dialect of English must come to terms with what others may see as a problem and must have the training or the background necessary to make sound choices and judgments concerning what to teach and how and when.

But again it is clear that the teacher who has before her a group of native English-speaking middle-class students is not doing what her colleagues are doing who must teach English as a foreign language or as a second dialect. Their problems are quite different and their approaches must differ to the same degree.

Essentially then, there is a very clear preception concerning the tasks and objectives of each of the major thrusts within the English-teaching profession. Teaching English as a native language is not confused with teaching English to speakers of other languages or with teaching standard English as a second dialect. Current studies indicate the exact spheres within which each of the three major areas can best be implemented and no one suggests that either methods or materials designed for one group be employed by the other groups as well.

II. The Teaching of Spanish and the Spanish-Teaching Profession

The same is not true, unfortunately, within the Spanish-teaching profession. As we have said above, there is often present a complete confusion and disorientation concerning the teaching of this language to Spanish-speaking students. The same realization which was arrived at by the English-teaching profession: that teaching a language as

a foreign language is not the same as teaching it as a native language has somehow not been completely accepted. Currently in the United States as a whole and specifically in the American Southwest, members of the Spanish-teaching profession have not yet begun to perceive that there are vast and profound differences between teaching Spanish to non-speakers, teaching standard Spanish as a second dialect, and teaching Spanish as a native language.

Indeed, in spite of the progress which has already taken place, in spite of the fact that Spanish-speaking and non-Spanish-speaking students are sometimes placed in separate Spanish classes, little is gained if the textbook used for both groups is ALM Spanish, a textbook designed for the teaching of Spanish as a foreign language using an audio-lingual approach. Little is gained also with respect to the self-image of the Spanish-speaking student if the teacher's attitude is similar to that reflected by Jacob Ornstein in his recent article, "A Brief Sampling of West Texas Teacher Attitudes Toward Southwest Spanish and English Language Varieties,"[4] for example:

> I think that Spanish (bilingual?) classes should be treated differently from Spanish-regular classes. The Spanish-speaking students should be provided with grammar explanations which show them why their way of speaking something is wrong. For example (common error): "pelió" Grammar: preterite tense formed by taking stem and adding ending. Infinitive pelear, Stem: pele + ending ó, Therefore: peleó, not pelió.[5]

or

> As a teacher at the high school level, I have discovered that by grouping Spanish classes into Spanish-regular and Spanish for Spanish-speaking, more can be accomplished. This way, I can teach the Anglo student and concentrate on remedial for the Spanish (for Spanish speakers) classes. It is very difficult to accomplish much with the Spanish-speaking because their speaking patterns are so well established.[6]

Indeed it is a fact that to this day a surprising number[7] of Spanish-speaking students in the American Southwest are still being placed in beginning Spanish classes for non-speakers so as to help them "unlearn" their "bad" habits and begin anew as foreign speakers. It matters not that the student is fluent and has internalized every single grammar rule that the teacher may hope to present. If he says traiba for traía, in many schools he is made to "begin from the

beginning." It is amazing to consider for a moment that these same teachers would never place a speaker of black English in a class with a group of young Latin Americans learning their first words of English, in the hope that he would suddenly "unlearn" all of his black dialect features. In the light of current discussions and research, even if he (she) personally felt that this might be effective, he could no longer subject large numbers of black students to this kind of treatment. And yet, it is an every day occurrence among teachers of Spanish. Native Spanish-speaking students are casually enrolled in beginning Spanish classes for non-speakers, in which the materials used have been designed exclusively for the teaching of the language to English-speaking students, and are expected, in the process to acquire the standard Spanish dialect as opposed to that normally used in their own speech communities. A parallel situation would involve placing black speakers of English in an ESL English classroom, using ESL materials for Spanish speakers, for the purpose of teaching these black speakers the standard dialect of English!

Because of the confusion then, which now exists concerning the teaching of the Spanish language, I propose here to analyze each of the three main thrusts which have been identified by the English-teaching profession (insofar as they are pertinent to the Spanish-teaching profession) in order to ascertain the exact parallels which may come into play and the possible difficulties which are presently bringing about these contradictory positions within the profession.

III. The Teaching of Spanish as a Foreign Language

In the United States, Spanish, along with several other foreign languages, has become an established part of the school curriculum. Ordinarily it is assumed that these languages will be taught to non-speakers who will profit in specific ways from the learning experience. Indeed, Leon Jakobovits has stated recently[8] that there seems to be three possible reasons for setting up a foreign language curriculum in a school. First, to expose students to the study of a foreign language or culture; second, to teach facts about language through a specific language as well as a set of facts about language users; and finally, in order to train students to participate in transactional interactions with native speakers. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that many course syllabi for foreign language study include the following points:

....understanding, speaking, reading, writing, grammar,

> translation, acquaintance with the history, civilization, and literature of foreign peoples, better understanding of the native language, mental discipline, social adaptability, and use of foreign discoveries.[9]

Undoubtedly if these are indeed the principal objectives of language study, any student, whether he is already fluent in the language or not, could well derive significant benefits from a study of language structure in general, civilization, lieterature, etc. He could profit also from supervised practice in oral expression, reading comprehension, and composition. But in a very real sense, it is evident that while foreign language study in this country may seek to incorporate all of these aims and objectives, and while it may be very valid to pursue the study of a language for its disciplinary benefits, it is nevertheless evident that elementary foreign language classes are essentially concerned with teaching the student how to use the foreign language. Today, even in spite of obvious failures, even in spite of the many arguments concerning the feasibility of actually teaching a language in a classroom setting, there are many who would insist that the ultimate objective of foreign language teaching is nothing other than communicative competence.

A superficial glance at the history of foreign language teaching methods[10] makes evident the fact that the principal task of this profession for some time has been the teaching of the spoken language, the preparation of the student for interaction with native speakers of the language, and in its most ideal sense, the creation of the competent bilingual student. That the task has not been accomplished, that it has not been possible in most cases to produce a bilingual student, but rather a student who can speak about the language, does not mean that the aims or objectives of the profession have changed. In the last twenty years, materials which have been written for foreign language study have been based generally on a contrastive analysis of the target and native languages and are designed for the teaching of the four skills: listening, speaking, reading, and writing, within a clearly oral emphasis involving dialogue repetition, memorization, pattern drills, etc. The mim-men and audio-lingual methods are still held in high esteem by many members of the language teaching profession, and it would perhaps not be inexact to say that a great number of these instructors are still concerned with instilling the correct language "habits" in their beginning students. We only recently began to concern ourselves within the profession with

the implications of the rationalist position and the applications of transformational grammar to the area of language teaching.

Essentially, however, one point is exceedingly clear. The teaching of Spanish as a foreign language at the elementary and intermediate levels in not a study which can clearly benefit a student who (according to the behaviorist position) has already acquired the necessary language habits, and who (according to the rationalist position) has already available a system of rules which are used in the production and understanding of new sentences.

One does not question the fact that a student, or simply a speaker of a given language, can clearly profit from instruction in a language he already speaks. What one must question is whether the methods traditionally established for the purpose of teaching a language as a foreign language can validly be considered adequate for the instruction of the student who already possesses the language "habits" that the instruction has been designed to instill.

Very briefly, the first two years of instruction in Spanish as a foreign language present the following problems for Spanish-speaking bilingual students:

1. Lack of opportunity for the development of oral proficiency at the level at which the student finds himself--generally beyond that of the most advanced non-native student.

2. Lack of opportunity for the development of receptive skills at the level at which the student finds himself.

3. Limited opportunity for the development of writing skills. Presentations of grapheme/phoneme correspondences in books for non-natives seldom serve the needs of speakers who know many more words than they have ever seen written.

4. Limited opportunity for the development of reading skills. Materials are ordinarily too elementary and are concerned exclusively with literary or cultural themes. Emphasis is on grammar review through reading and testing of understanding through translation.

5. Distorted learning of "grammar rules." Explanations based on a contrastive analysis of two languages force comparisons across languages for the Spanish-speaking student which cause more problems than they solve. As we have stated above, most textbooks written today for the teaching of Spanish as a foreign language are based on

a contrastive analysis of the two languages. It is assumed that there are certain areas of interference between the mother tongue of the learner (English) and the target language (Spanish). Special attention is devoted to these areas of interference by means of special explanations, drills, exercises, etc. The structures that do not present special problems are often simply presented without explanation. Such texts, then, are very evidently not complete "traditional grammars" of the Spanish language. A student who uses such a text to learn about the structure of a native language is limiting himself to an understanding and study of those structures which are considered important in the teaching of the language to non-speakers.

The problem is more complex than that, however. Explanations in traditional texts aimed at English-speaking students hope to bring the non-speaking student to an understanding of the "new" Spanish structure. The bilingual student can, in fact, derive a certain benefit from the knowledge; for example, that me gusta and I like it are equivalent expressions. But unless he is going to teach the language, he profits little from analyzing the fact that what English expresses by means of its subject I, Spanish expresses by means of an indirect object pronoun. In most cases, especially if the student is weak in his understanding of English structure, his frustration is considerable upon having to equate all of his known Spanish structures with other known English ones. Textbooks designed for the teaching of the Spanish to non-Spanish-speaking students are designed exclusively for that purpose. Those who hope to teach standard Spanish by using such materials must remind themselves that the points of contrast in the texts are between English and Spanish, and not between the two dialects of Spanish. As will be shown below, it has been found that in order to teach a second or additional dialect, materials must be used which are based on a contrast between the two dialects in question.

Spanish language classes in which Spanish is taught as a foreign language are simply that: foreign language classes. Because of our training, we feel comfortable within the standard approaches to such language teaching, but it is time to begin examining how this training has prepared us for teaching the language to the student who is already fluent. Perhaps it is time for us to examine exactly what it means to teach a language as a "native" language, and to determine how objectives and approaches must relate to such instruction. We must certainly at the very least begin to perceive that in the

same way that an English teacher does not insist upon using ESL materials with a group of native English-speaking students (unless they are preparing to be ESL teachers themselves) we cannot continue to insist that there is only one way of teaching Spanish in this country and that all materials are equally suited to speakers and non-speakers of the language.

IV. The Teaching of Spanish as a Native Language

The idea of teaching Spanish in the United States as a native language is such a new one, that upon mentioning it as a clear and obvious option in the instruction of Spanish-English bilinguals in the United States, one is often faced with complete bewilderment from teachers who have been excellently trained in the teaching of Spanish as a foreign language. The problem seems to be that because of their training, most teachers of Spanish view the teaching of this subject as primarily the training of non-native students in speaking, understanding, reading, and writing; with classroom time being devoted to audio-lingual drills, dialogue repetition, listening comprehension exercises, etc., and in most cases extensive explanations about the language itself. All of these activities are again based upon a constrastive analysis of the target and native languages. The teacher knows exactly what to teach. The students have a textbook that they use and consult and the objectives have been well defined for all concerned.

It is no wonder, then, that when one speaks of teaching the language as a native language, the most frequent comment heard is: "but what is there to teach?" That is, of course, a logical response. If after all a teacher is trained to produce a communicating student in a target language and he already communicates, what is there left for the teacher to do?

Very soon, however, especially in the Southwest, it occurs to these teachers that teaching Spanish as a native language must mean teaching traditional grammar. In this study they suddenly see answers to all kinds of problems in the speech patterns of these bilingual students which they perceive to be "wrong" or "vulgar." Thus, again on familiar territory, most teachers can find a number of activities with which they can use up classroom time. What these teachers fail to see, of course, is that in trying to instill in these bilingual students a knowledge of prescriptive grammar in order to "correct" their speech, they are not teaching Spanish as a

native language, but rather they are trying to teach standard Spanish as a second dialect. This, we said above, is a very different type of instruction. For teachers of English, the learning of English when it is a native language and the learning of a standard dialect as a second dialect are two distinct areas, each calling for different approaches. So, too, must it be in the teaching of Spanish.

What does it mean then, to teach a language as a native language? Very simply it includes all of those activities and objectives which have for many years been a part of the English language curriculum. To quote Charlton Laird from his book, And Gladly Teche: Notes on Instructing the Natives in the Native Tongue:

> Teaching the use of the native language includes teaching the use of the human mind, a means with which the mind works, and the greatest tool that mankind has ever devised.[11]

Or as stated by the Commission of the English Curriculum of the National Council of Teachers of English:

> One goal is the ability to teach the English language as as effective instrument of thought, expression, and communication.[12]

Indeed, for this commission, there are two fundamental principles by which the establishment of a curriculum in a native language must be guided: (1) the development of language power is an integral part of the total pattern of a student's growth, and (2) that language power must be developed in the social situation in which it is used.[13]

Training in this language power, in this native language use for effective expression and communication includes the following:

-Improving listening, observing, and speaking

-Developing basic skills in reading

-Developing language through experiences with books

-Development of spelling abilities

-Development of competence and creativeness in oral and written communication

-Development of effective skills in the use of language in the daily affairs of life

-Development of habitual and intelligent skills in the use of the mass modes of communication

-Development of competent use of language and reading for vocational purposes

Teaching a language as a native language encompasses for the English profession the elementary, secondary, college, and graduate curricula. In a sense, these professionals are fortunate because they can begin by teaching students to read, to listen, to observe, etc., when they are very young and then build upon these basic skills. But the teaching of language in very much the same way is also a possibility for teachers of Spanish. Following the several areas designated as basic in an English curriculum, it can be seen that the bilingual Spanish-speaking student in the Southwest can profit greatly from the following.

1. Improvement of listening and speaking skills.

In most cases the native Spanish-speaking student has had little experience in listening to Spanish outside of the home domain. Experiences in listening to Spanish language discussions on a variety of subjects can be very helpful in developing his vocabulary. The same is true of speaking. In general, the student has had limited practice in speaking beyond every day intimate conversations. He can profit from activities which will develop his confidence in expressing himself in Spanish on many topics which he has generally discussed in English. At the beginning, such oral development may involve limited or basic areas which are selected to introduce the student to thinking in Spanish about specific subjects.

2. Development of basic skills in reading

The native Spanish-speaking student in the Southwest already possesses the basic reading skills in the English language. Depending upon his ability and training, he may read well and confidently in this language, or he may read slowly and with great difficulty. He needs training in beginning reading in Spanish. He needs to develop the ability to decode in this language to at least the degree to which his ability has developed in English. It is evident that much research needs to be done in this area. We need to know, for example, to what degree a reading skill can transfer across languages especially when the language in which one does not read is a mother tongue. Can we be guided by the theory involving the teaching

of reading to non-native students who learn to read in a foreign language? Are there important differences?

It is evident also that bilingual Spanish-speaking can and do learn to read in Spanish and often with little difficulty, but that does not mean we need not concern ourselves with reading materials and their form and content. It is not enough to pick a reader on the basis of the fact that the stories are cute, or that it has an ethnic theme, or whatever. We must endeavor to identify the very processes of skill transfer in order to determine the level and order in which reading in this language is to be taught most efficiently and most quickly.

3. Developing language through experiences with books

The importance of this development is clear. We, as teachers of Spanish, have already seen numerous cases in which a student has learned to decode or decipher Spanish for a language class, who upon leaving that class never again even attempts to read in Spanish. The stage in which ready proficiency is developed is, therefore, more important. If the student is to retain the skills he has acquired, he must reach the level of confidence and enjoyment.

4. Development of spelling abilities

The student who has learned to write in English and who at the same time knows more words in Spanish than he has ever seen written, will experience specific and unique problems in spelling. Special attention needs to be devoted to this area. In a previous paper[14] I have discussed various facets of this problem and have proposed one possible technique for teaching spelling skills to these students. There are many others. It is evident, however, that the bilingual Spanish-speaking student again needs special materials and methods for learning grapheme/phoneme correspondences in the Spanish language. Very rarely can a teacher make do with existing materials for non-speakers.

5. Development of competence and creativeness in oral and written communication

After initial practice and development in basic skills in oral and written expression, the Spanish-speaking bilingual student can reach a level of competence in both areas which involves an element of creativity. At this level, the teacher is involved in stimulating and motivating creative oral expression and encouraging and guiding

creative writing. As opposed to "functional" expression, "creative" expression involves or emphasizes self-expression. At this level of instruction the student must be encouraged to see language as more than simple communication. Very gradually it is possible for him to develop a special feel for the language which permits him to express himself in unique and original terms.

6. Development of effective skills in the use of language in the daily affairs of life

7. Development of habitual and intelligent skills in the use of the mass modes of communication

8. Development of competent use of language and reading for vocational purposes

Numbers 6, 7 and 8 are again areas in which the Spanish-speaking student may be involved with great success. The possibility here is vital growth in both the confidence and competence for the student in areas which can assure his retaining the Spanish language throughout his lifetime. Indeed this may in fact serve as the most valid objective for the teaching of Spanish as a native language. Without the opportunity to develop and grow in the Spanish language, bilinguals in the Southwest abandon the language soon after adolescence if not before that. They feel clumsy and limited in a language in which they have had few intellectual experiences. It is the language of the home and, for many, the language of their past.

We in the Spanish-teaching profession must become aware of the fact that we must offer these bilingual Spanish-speaking students the opportunity to grow in their mother tongue, the opportunity to use it in meaningful communication and creative expression. As we have all seen, often with sadness, our non-native students who have amassed the most facts about the structure of the Spanish language were not the ones who retained it or indeed became bilingual. The secret behind language learning and indeed language retention seems to be simply <u>use</u>. By providing the native Spanish-speaking bilingual with solid skills in reading, writing, and oral expression, and positive experiences in the wide use of the language, we can certainly be more optimistic concerning not only his wider competence for communication in the Spanish language, but also the retention of the language itself for another generation.

V. The Teaching of Standard Spanish as a Second Dialect

Within the English profession, teaching the standard dialect as a second dialect has involved primarily the teaching of this prestige form to what has been termed "disadvantaged" students. It would not be inexact to say, however, that most of these disadvantaged students, who are speakers of a non-prestige or non-standard English, are members of the black minority. The issues involving the teaching of standard English to speakers of a non-standard dialect are not, as in the case of the ESL methodologies and objectives, clear cut and universally agreed upon. Essentially at this point, it is evident that there are three principal positions (as delineated by Roger Shuy)[15] which include the following perspectives on the question.

1. Eradication

This view, which may be said to be the traditional view of the English profession as a whole, looks upon dialects other than the standard as deficient in themselves, as deserving of the stigma they have attracted, and as causing in speakers of such dialects severe problems in the total learning process--to include the acquisition of reading and writing skills.

Educators who hold this view, look upon the educational process as a means by which one is made to distinguish "right" from "wrong" to include perceptions concerning language. They see themselves as the tools by which a particular student can rid himself of stigmatized dialect features and becomes a speaker of the "right" type of English--well known to be a passport to achievement, success, and acceptance. Thus, they insist, that as educators they have a solemn duty to their students which includes the total eradication of non-standard dialects.

2. Biloquialism

The second position is the belief in and acceptance of biloquialism. Biloquialism is currently a term preferred to bi-dialectalism, This latter term, because of the pejorative connotations of the word dialect, is generally avoided.

Essentially those who hold this position believe, that rather than eradicate a speaker's first dialect, he should be taught an additional one. In this way, the non-standard speaker will not feel a rejection of himself and his culture through a rejection of this home dialect, and at the same time he will be able to avail himself

of the use of the prestige or standard dialect. Needless to say, this position is at the moment the most popular.

3. Appreciation of Dialect Differences

The third position is an enlightened but, many feel, an unrealistic one, for it maintains that rather than change or add dialects, one should simply educate speakers in general about the nature of language, the varieties of languages known as dialects, and particularly about the fact that there is nothing intrinsincally standard or prestigious about a consensus dialect. Those who entertain this position feel that the prejudices about the language, rather than the language varieties should be attacked. Many[16] feel that to educate American citizens to seem acceptable to a prejudiced majority is simply an exercise in futility and a surrender to the many myths of white supremacy. It would be fair to say, at this point, that this third position has not enjoyed the support of the second.

These very same three positions are very present in the thinking of the members of the Spanish-teaching profession especially in the Southwest. While we have not produced a series of controversial papers on the issue, the views are apparent and clear cut. The teachers quoted by Jacob Ornstein, and the authors of such books as Baker's Español para el hispano...[17] are without question eradicators. Even Mrs. Barker...with her many admonitions of "no se dice" ...in Español para el bilinqüe,[18] convince us that her position is very close to it. At the same time..we have had defensores of the Southwestern dialect...among them Donald Bowen, who in his brief article, "Local Standards and Spanish in the Southwest,"[19] clearly presents the position that this dialect, while not optimally rated in the Spanish-speaking world, will never present communication problems to the self-assured Hispano. He hopes for an enlightened view of Southwestern Spanish as an important part of the area's linguistic patrimony, and he suggests that those involved in removing lexical items from the speech of Chicanos in the belief that others are more correct have no understanding of the process of language change and its accomodation to the needs of the local environment.

But because the lines between the different positions have not been clearly established, it has been possible for many eradicators, who in fact are advocating the elimination of the Southwestern dialect of Spanish, to advertise themselves as supporters of biloquialism. Only until very recently has there been any effort to define terms.

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I hope here in this last section to establish certain guidelines for the evaluation of current positions and programs in the teaching of Spanish. It is far too easy to fall into certain teaching approaches and practices which are in many cases diametrically opposed to philosophical positions concerning the very nature and purpose of the process.

1. Eradication

Those programs which are concerned with changing the non-standard Spanish-speakers' dialect are involved in the eradication of this dialect. It matters little whether this instruction takes place within a classroom of non-native speakers wherein the native is made to "relearn" his "bad" Spanish and to "acquire" proper Spanish, or whether it takes place in a so-called section for native students in which the language is said to be taught as a mother tongue. If the approach is prescriptive, if the essential purpose of the instruction is to have the student emerge cleased by the process, and hopefully sounding like a resident of Madrid or Mexico City, then the purpose is not the teaching of a second dialect, but the eradication of the native dialect.

2. Biloquialism

Programs which have as their principal objective the teaching of the standard dialect so that it can be called up at will[20] when a speaker finds himself in a social situation in which such a use would be to his advantage are engaged in preparing biloquial speakers. Basic to the concept of biloquialism is the belief, as we have said above, that both dialects are valid and acceptable, but that each is considered particularly appropriate in specific contexts. Thus the student is not made to feel that his dialect is lacking and that certain features in it must be changed; but rather that it is the <u>best</u> variant which can be used in particular domains and situations while another exists which is equally appropriate for other uses.

At the moment there are no texts which have as their purpose the teaching of Spanish as a second dialect as defined above. Moreover, the difficulties involved in this type of instruction are not currently known to many teachers of Spanish. It is not evident to many, for example, that some[21] of the very supporters of biloquialism have themselves expressed serious doubts concerning the actual existence of a standard dialect and of dialects in general calling them

simply useful myths; and have flatly stated that a second dialect can be learned certainly, but perhaps not taught.[22] Still others have directly contradicted Stewart's belief that a standard dialect can be taught as a second language. Spolsky,[23] for example, has found the entire question rather absurd in the light of our current controversies in the area of second language acquisition and second language teaching.

Certain aspects are clear.[24] In order to use foreign language methodologies such as repetition, imitation, and manipulation drills, one must have a clear understanding of the differences between the non-standard and the standard dialects. Basic to such foreign language drills, as we know, is a contrastive analysis of both languages. But as we know also, our knowledge of the different dialects of Spanish currently in use in the Southwest is most inexact. How then can one prepare materials for teaching standard Spanish as a second dialect using foreign language methodologies when one is not even certain about what needs to be taught? In a foreign language classroom, there is never any uncertainty on the part of the student concerning whether he is speaking his native or the target language, but in a second dialect situation we are told[25] the confusion is almost certain. If we are to teach standard Spanish as a second dialect, we must begin then by describing the dialects in question and preparing materials which deal adequately with items that must be taught. But we might also, as Feigenbaum has done in English Now,[26] consider the use of the non-standard dialect in the drills themselves so that it might be clear to the speaker which answers might be appropriate to which questions. For example: the question ¿Qué dicías? might have as an appropriate answer: Dicía que no lo vites. While: ¿Qué decías? might call for: Decía que no lo viste. Essentially through such manipulations the student would perceive the contrasting structures of the two dialects and the contexts appropriate to each.

But there is still another aspect to teaching such a standard dialect that must be considered in the teaching of standard Spanish as a second dialect and that is the entire question of testing. To speak of teaching is to speak of levels of instruction, of measured achievement, of adequate placement, and ultimately of effective testing. At this point, however, we are aware that tests which adequately measure communicative or receptive competence are not available. Thus in order to place a student in a section for second dialect learning we might not have the means at our disposal for determining how the

individual might operate in specified sociolinguistic situations in the two dialects in question. Nor might we be able to determine the amount of receptive knowledge possessed by a student with regards to the standard dialect. We might be reduced again to the discrete point approach and the perhaps irrelevant contrasts between items which may tell us nothing about the student's actual competence in either the standard or the non-standard dialect. With the Spanish-speaking bilingual this presents an added problem because the use of such instruments presuppose a reading ability in Spanish by the person being examined. Such an ability, as we know, is very frequently not part of the experience of the bilingual Mexican-American.

Programs then for the Spanish-speaking in the U.S. Southwest which propose to teach standard Spanish as a second dialect must come to terms with the following considerations: insufficient knowledge of specific dialects in question, lack of prepared materials, inappropriate testing procedures, and finally, actual justification for such instruction as opposed to the teaching of a mother tongue as defined above. If it is difficult in the light of the third position held by those concerned with the teaching of English as a second dialect: that attitudes should be changed to justify exclusive attention to the teaching of a standard dialect of Spanish in this country, in place of a concentration of efforts in the direction of developing mother tongue skills, then certainly we cannot assume that most Mexican-American students will be using their Spanish in Latin America or Spain. Nor can we claim that they will be discriminated against because of their social dialect in Spanish in the job market. We must therefore examine our motives for teaching the standard dialect as a second dialect to the exclusion of instruction in other language skills. Otherwise, we may have to admit that we are simply eradicators in disguise and that we <u>do</u> believe that there is a right and a wrong kind of Spanish.

To this point then, we have examined the teaching of Spanish in the United States [see Table 1] in the light of the three principal interest groups which make up the English teaching profession. We have seen how teaching Spanish as a foreign language is not appropriate or ideal for teaching Spanish to the native-speaking as either a standard second dialect or a mother tongue. We have seen also that in mother tongue instruction there is much that can be accomplished in the development of native language skills such as reading, writing, creative expression, etc., and we have seen finally how teaching the

TABLE 1

THE TEACHING OF SPANISH IN THE UNITED STATES

	EXISTING		PROJECTED
	Spanish as a Foreign Language in Public Schools	Standard Spanish as a Second Dialect	Spanish Language Arts Program
Student group	Directed to non Spanish-speaking students	Directed to Spanish-speaking students who speak nonstandard dialects	Directed to Spanish-speaking students of all dialects
Objective	Establishment of elementary habits in Spanish as a foreign language	Addition of a second dialect of Spanish to be used in specific contexts	Development and enrichment of language skills within existing dialects
Approach	Standard foreign language teaching methods, i.e., audio-lingual, mim-mem, direct, etc. Attention to the development of the four basic skills. Heavily dependent on dialogue memorization, repetition, and explanations of contrasting structures of English and Spanish.	Intensive practice and exposure to areas in which the student's dialect and the standard differ. Structural explanations concentrate on major difficulties.	Development of <u>all</u> skills: a. oral language b. receptive competence c. reading skills d. writing skills as English language arts programs do.
Results	A few can communicate in the language, a few can speak about the language, and most view their experience as worthless.	A few students correct "errors" in their spoken language, but proficiency in the language as a whole is not advanced.	Wider communicative competence and enhancement of self-image

standard language as a second dialect relates to the Spanish-teaching profession. We have touched upon the three positions concerning non-standard dialects and in general we have suggested that we too, along with the English-teaching profession, might more profitably support biloquialism. Still our problems are nevertheless different. We do not have the same justifications for teaching a second dialect that is found within the English profession, especially when the CCC[27] has declared itself in favor of each student's right to his language.

But beyond this...we must not forget that we are dealing with a bilingual speaker of English and Spanish when we speak of the native Spanish-speaking student of the Southwest. We are speaking of an individual already described by such studies as that of Weinreich[28] and Haugen,[29] an individual who is not two perfect monolinguals but rather a person whose two languages are in contact. I venture to suggest that no course in standard Spanish as a second dialect will produce an individual who has thoroughly cleansed his Spanish of English interference. If we manage to adequately describe the existing Mexican-American dialects, we may well find all the forms which can be considered integrated and we can then proceed to deal with them as we might with any other non-standard forms. But we will not adequately remove all instances or even most instances of interference from the <u>speech</u> of bilinguals as opposed to their <u>language</u>.[30] Essentially, then, we must be aware that teaching the standard dialect of Spanish to bilingual speakers may involve instruction in the conscious suppression of English interference in their speech in addition to instruction as defined above.

The problems are many. It is time in which those of us concerned with the Spanish language in the Southwest, with its future, and with its present, must devote some time to the formulation of theory concerning the instruction of Spanish for the native speaking. We must come to terms with contradictions...with uncertainties such as that which we face in the teaching of foreign languages as a whole, and we must contribute actively toward the solution of an instructional problem of great importance. Those of us involved in college instruction have a special obligation to contribute experience and insight in our publications, in our lectures, and in our direct contact with those students who will themselves teach.

FOOTNOTES

[1]I have used the term Hispano to refer to Spanish-speaking, or Spanish surnamed persons in the United States. For further discussion on this point, see Richard V. Teschner, "Exploring the Rise of the United States Hispano in the Dissemination of Anglicisms in Spanish," Foreign Language Annals, 7 (1974), p. 683, footnote 8.

[2]See for example: Español para alumnos hispanohablantes: Niveles 1 y 11 de secundaria (Austin, Texas Education Agency, 1970); Teaching Spanish in School and College to Native Speakers of Spanish (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1972); George M. Blanco, "Teaching Spanish as a Standard Dialect in Grades 7-12: A Rationale for a Fundamental Skills Approach," Diss., University of Texas, Austin, 1971; and James H. Ward, "Spanish Teachers and Spanish Speaking Minorities," Hispania, 55(1972), p. 893-95.

[3]The University of Arizona, for example, has introduced the following new sequence of courses: Span. 45: Oral Communication in Spanish (for the Bilingual who understands spoken Spanish but needs practice speaking); Span. 50: Reading for the Bilingual; Span. 55: Writing for the Bilingual; Span. 100: Grammar for the Bilingual; Span. 103: Comprehensive Spanish for the Bilingual.

[4]Roderick MacIntosh and Jacob Ornstein, "A Brief Sampling of West Texas Teacher Attitudes Toward Southwest Spanish and English Language Varieties," Hispania, 57(1974), p. 920-926.

[5]MacIntosh and Ornstein, Ibid., p. 926.

[6]MacIntosh and Ornstein, Ibid., p. 926.

[7]Preliminary data from a survey of the teaching of Spanish to Spanish speaking undergraduates in five Southwestern states, which I am currently conducting, indicate that placing Spanish-speaking and non-Spanish-speaking students in the same elementary Spanish classes is still common practice in 75% of the colleges and universities which have responded.

[8]Leon A. Jacobovits and Barbara Gordon, The Context of Foreign Language Teaching (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House Publishers, 1974), p. 46.

[9]William Francis Mackey, Language Teaching Analysis (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1971), p. 323.

[10]See for example: Karl Conrad Diller, Generative Grammar Structural Linguistics and Language Teaching (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House Publishers, 1974).

[11](Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1970), p. 5.

[12]The Commission on the English Curriculum of the National Council of Teachers of English, The English Language Arts (New York: Appleton, 1952), I, p. 8.

[13]The English Language Arts, Ibid., pp. 12-14.

[14]Guadalupe Valdés Fallis, "Teaching Spanish to the Spanish-Speaking: Classroom Strategies," System (University of Linköping, Sweden), 3 (1975), pp. 54-62.

[15]Ralph W. Fasold and Roger Shuy, eds., Teaching Standard English in the Inner City (Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1970), pp. ix-xvi.

[16]For example: Wayne O'Neil, "Paul Roberts' Rules of Order: The Misuses of Linguistics in the Classroom," The Urban Review, 2, No. 7; Thomas Kochman, "Social Factors in the Consideration of Teaching Standard English," Florida FL Reporter, 7(1969), pp. 87-88, p. 157; and James Sledd, "Bi-dialectalism: The Linguistics of White Supremacy," English Journal, 58(1969), pp. 1307-1315.

[17]Pauline Baker, Español para los hispanos (Skokie, Ill.: National Textbook Company, 1966). Mrs. Baker clearly states her position in the preface of her book when she says: "Sin embargo, no creo equivocarme al decir que estamos presenciando una decadencia lamentable del español en los Estados Unidos.." And further, ".. hay que evitar por lo general todos los pachuquismos o expresiones vulgares a fin de que ustedes lleguen a ser personas bien estimadas por su modo de hablar y también para que se conserve la belleza del español." (pp. 49-50).

[18]Marie Easman Barker, Español para el bilingüe (Skokie, Ill.: National Textbook Company, 1972). Mrs. Barker frequently admonishes students in the following manner: "Cuidado de no comerse la ll, Se dice a/ni/llo. No se dice a/ni/o."

[19]Donald J. Bowen, "Local Standards and Spanish in the Southwest," in Studies in Language and Linguistics, ed. Ralph E. Ewton, Jr., and Jacob Ornstein (El Paso, Texas: Texas Western Press, 1972), pp. 154-163.

[20]For further discussion on this point see Virginia F. Allen, "Teaching Standard English as a Second Dialect," Florida FL Reporter, 7(1969), pp. 123-129, p. 164.

[21]For example: Roger Shuy, "Some Useful Myths in Social Dialectology," Florida FL Reporter, 11(1973), pp. 17-20, p. 55.

[22]Roger Shuy, "Social Dialects: Teaching vs Learning," Florida FL Reporter, 9(1971), pp. 28-33, p. 55.

[23]Bernard Spolsky, "Linguistics and Language Pedagogy: Applications or Implications," in Readings in Applied Transformational Grammar, ed. Mark Lester (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1973), pp. 269-283.

[24]For a discussion of foreign language methodologies and the teaching of a second dialect, see William A. Stewart, "Foreign Language Teaching Methods in Quasi-Foreign Language Situations," in Teaching Standard English in the Inner City, pp. 1-19.

[25]This very point was made by Stewart himself in: William A. Stewart, "Language Teaching Problems in Appalachia," Florida FL Reporter, 7(1969), pp. 58-59, p. 11. See also, Joan C. Baratz, "Educational Considerations for Teaching Standard English to Negro Children," in Teaching Standard English in the Inner City, pp. 20-40.

[26]Irwin Feigenbaum, "The Use of Nonstandard English in Teaching Standard: Contrast and Comparison," in Teaching Standard English, pp. 87-104.

[27]Journal of the Conference on College Composition and Communication, 25, (1974).

[28]Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact (The Hague: Mouton, 1974).

[29]Einar Haugen, Bilingualism in the Americas: A Bibliography and Research Guide (Tuscaloosa, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1968).

[30]Weinreich, Op. cit., p. 11.

TO LEARN OR NOT TO LEARN STANDARD SPANISH--

THAT IS NOT THE QUESTION

by

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A controversy between proponents and opponents of "standard" Spanish has existed for years among teachers at all levels of the pedagogical structure. However, since bilingual-bicultural education and the Chicano movement came to the forefront, the battle has intensified. These polemics have yielded two seemingly irreconcilable worlds. Advocates on either side have staunchly defended their linguistic philosophies; both have assumed unequivocal and intractable postures. The arguments at times have been convincing, to be sure, but some of them have never left roundtable discussions, seminars or conferences. Knowledge must transcend all boundaries, and the circumstances surrounding any disputation need to be judged on their worth and implications. This should be with an open mind, because ultimately he who endures the burden of educators' intellectual biases is the student. The purpose of this paper is to propose that "standard" Spanish must be an aim in itself, while "sub-standard" Spanish has to be utilized as the bridge for accomplishing that goal—which means education for the learner.

Since the concept of standard/sub-standard Spanish has been debated from time to time, particularly in the Southwest, perhaps it behooves us, for the sake of perspective, to focus briefly on the genesis and evolution of the Spanish language. In this way, one can arrive at some understanding regarding what standard Spanish presumably is or is not. Certain linguistic facts are in order: Spanish derived from Latin; and Vulgar Latin, the vernacular of the Roman masses, developed into Castilian. By the tenth century, Spanish was the language of Spain. Spanish did not become official until the thirteenth century under King Ferdinand III, at which time it superseded Latin in public records (a criterion employed in Western Europe for determining how and at what juncture a language was deemed standard). By the latter part of the thirteenth century, under Alfonso the Wise, Spanish became the official literary language. These two developments, coupled with Castile's political supremacy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, made Castilian the national language of Spain. Today it remains the official language and it must be used on all formal documents.

Nevertheless, Castilian is not the only dialect. Leonese-Asturian and Navarro-Aragonese, among others, exist today, plus the Catalonian and Basque languages.[1] Does this mean that anything subservient to Castilian is inferior, poor, deficient, or unacceptable? Is the Spanish heard in Andalusia, for example, whose pronunciation

in the New World is well known and different from Castilian, sub-standard? In fact, many Spaniards claim that the "best" (if by best they mean standard) Spanish is spoken in Valladolid. In our judgment it is foolhardy to conceive of Castilian as the epitome of standard Spanish; this posture loses credibility in Spain and in the New World. Perhaps it is reasonable to state that, while standard Spanish is difficult to define, the Spanish used by professionals (lawyers, businessmen, newspaper reporters, professors) is a good indication of standard Spanish.

I. Why Spanish Speakers Should Study, Learn and Know Standard Spanish

Many Spanish-speaking students in university language programs are presumably interested in studying Spanish but, once exposed to Spanish which differs from their home language, they refute it because of the mistaken notion that its usefulness is questionable. The thought is so ludicrous that on the surface it does not merit attention, but, regrettably, too many students (and teachers)[2] believe that learning words, expressions, and proverbs alien to their neighborhood or region is fruitless. Students and teachers alike must dispense with prejudices and misconceptions, and be more open-minded in order that education may broaden the learner's intellectual horizons.

An educational venture should be a positive experience. It is unrealistic to think that studying Spanish, or any other discipline, is going to evoke perfect results. Education is no panacea, much less a utopia. The study of verbs, dative of interest, indirect discourse and the like, is only peripheral to the true value of education. Students must be impressed that even learning linguistic nuances within their own culture can engender a better understanding of themselves and their heritage.

Part of that responsibility is for the teacher to encourage the student to acquire new language skills. His past, inherent capabilities, can and should be utilized as a foundation on which to build and expand his knowledge of the language. In other words, the student should not think of his heritage as bad, imperfect and something to be ashamed of. On the contrary, he must look upon his background as a resource unmatched by any of his peers who do not know Spanish. His Spanish may not be considered standard but that is irrelevant, for one person's standard may be another's sub-standard. Besides,

most important for the student is the improvement of his previous knowledge. Once he accomplishes that, his pronunciation, fluency and structure of Spanish are refined. Instead of saying, "No jallates lo que juites a mercar?", he will learn that other people--educated or not--say "No hallaste lo que fuiste a comprar?" To speak intelligently reflects the virtues of education and learning.

Students should also learn standard Spanish because of their interest in community affairs. Pressure from them and civil rights groups and organizations has culminated in legislation by Congress of the United States protecting the voting rights of the non-English speaking minorities who often are poor and uneducated. As a result Spanish/English election ballots and voting machines are now provided in communities for the Spanish speaker, with the aid of a bilingual judge if needed. It appears that few voters, including students, notwithstanding their efforts, use the bilingual voting machines or read the ballots in Spanish. To be sure, they are not translated into local, barrio Spanish, let alone the vernacular. Yet the fact that the ballots are not printed in the local dialect comes under attack by the same people who strived for the materials in Spanish. In the history of languages in Western Europe most public records have been in standard or formal language. If students are to comprehend the Spanish used in official documents, then it behooves them to learn a brand of Spanish different from, albeit not totally foreign to, theirs.

Another reason students should learn standard Spanish is their involvement in church activities. Years ago in communities throughout New Mexico religious services were given in Spanish. That was not unusual and, although the practice has diminished, particularly in urban areas, one can still attend a mass in Spanish. In the last several years some priests, parishioners and students have asked if not demanded that Spanish be either introduced or reintroduced into religious ceremonies and church materials. The Sunday Missal, written in Spanish, has appeared in various Catholic churches. Ironically, some of those people who asked for religious materials in Spanish do not know how to pray in their language; nor are they amenable to learning because of the excuse that the Missal contains the tú and vosotros and these do not exemplify "their" language. It is incongruous to demand something and then scorn it on a petty issue. A solution is to learn formal Spanish in order to meet foursquare those demands which become reality.

The foregoing reasons are only partial testimony to our belief that students need to be persuaded to study standard Spanish. A high language competency may be desirous in business, social welfare, the legal profession, educational programs,[3] and other areas. The students need to improve, not remain stagnate. A refusal to expand on their language mainfests a negation of the language--not an expansion of it. It is paradoxical for them to advocate Spanish in selected areas and then reject it on some personal technicality. He who embarks upon that course shall forever be in limbo vacillating between two opposite poles of ambivalence.

II. Why Teachers Should Study, Learn and Know Non-Standard Spanish

Heretofore language purists in the United States have tried to discourage students from employing pronunciations, terminology or expressions in Spanish which they deemed sub-standard. Among them are public school teachers and college and university instructors whose personal and linguistic whims have led them to "protect" the language in the classroom. Students in high school or at the university have resented having their home language corrected or rejected. However, in the lower grades perceptible harm can be inflicted on the child whose language is shunned by the teacher. The argument whether to accept those elements labeled sub-standard or linguistically different from classroom Spanish continues to persist. For that reason we should like to offer some suggestions on how standard and sub-standard Spanish can work together.

Our intent in this section is to focus on how sub-standard Spanish can be used as a bridge for bringing a child to a level of language competency equal to standard Spanish. The teacher's acceptance of and acquaintance with the vernacular spoken by children at the elementary level is important, because at this stage attitudes begin to develop between the teacher and the pupil. Knowing the difference between "Pus, anque no seiga muncho, ay ta" and "Pues, aunque no sea mucho, allí está" enables the teacher to relate more effectively to the child. The burden of responsibility lies with the teacher who, after all, occupies a dominant role in the educational hierarchy. Accordingly,

> ....it is important for the teacher to understand the relation between standard and non-standard and to recognize that non-standard...[Spanish] (brackets mine) is a system of rules, different from the standard but not necessarily inferior as a

> means of communication. All of the teacher's social instincts, past training, and even faith in his own education lead him to believe that other dialects of...[Spanish] (brackets mine) are merely 'mistakes' without rhyme or rationale.[4]

Teachers who reflect these sentiments are self-deluded; they must shed whatever idiosyncrasies they possess about sub-standard Spanish. Lest we forget, Vulgar Latin was the language of the Roman masses. Moreover, there is nothing wrong if a language profits from other languages. A case in point is in the Southwest where a number of words have infiltrated Spanish from English such as brecas (brakes), troca (truck), torque (turkey), and countless others. There is also nothing improper if a child goes to school using old Spanish (mesmo-mismo, fierro-hierro) or the local dialect. Quite the contrary, the teacher should know enough about the history of the language and its nuances in the region, and to chastise a child because he does not use modern or sub-standard pronunciation is grossly unfair.

For the monolingual child in Spanish who goes to school for the first time the transition and adjustment between home and school can be made easier and more pleasant if his language (same thing is true in English), be it barrio, regional, pocho, manito, or hispanglés is readily acknowledged and understood by the teacher. Otherwise, the child suffers a double jolt: he is put in an environment alien to his; and if his Spanish is not compatible with his teacher's he is humiliated further. The teacher-child then become the focal point of this linguistic conflict. The teacher must act as a friend, not as an enemy or a linguistic censor. A compassion for the child's home language is more conducive to his psychological and learning disposition.

Freedom of expression is extremely important for the child and to disallow it by condemning the learner's language might lead to non-verbal communication. This is one of the reasons Spanish-speaking children for years were classified as mentally retarded, when in fact a disregard of their language turned them into introverts. They became ashamed and embarrassed of their culture and of themselves. What more concrete testimony do we have than to say that many Spanish surnamed children and university students alike today know little Spanish as a result of harsh treatment incurred by teachers and intolerant school systems.

We have tried to present arguments in favor of standard and

sub-standard Spanish to underscore that they should not necessarily be mutually exclusive. We have strived to show also that standard Spanish ultimately is the most important in terms of language competency, but the significance of sub-standard Spanish toward that aim must not be minimized. Home languages can be very useful, especially in the lower grades, provided the proper rapport exists between teacher and child. It is the teacher who can broaden the linquistic abilities of the child by showing a compasssion for his language and gradually introduce him to the alternatives of standard Spanish. In the final analysis, if the teacher does not manifest patience, receptivity and understanding, it is immaterial to render suggestions about standard and sub-standard Spanish, because nothing will elicit positive results.

FOOTNOTES

[1]According to the Associated Press in Madrid, on November 15, "The government legalized regional languages in Spain Saturday, returning to about one-third of the nation's population a cultural heritage that had been banned for 36 years. Prince Juan Carlos de Borbón, acting head of state, signed a decree giving Basques, Catalans, Galicians, Valencians and others the right to speak and write their native tongues without fear of persecution for the first time since the Spanish Civil War ended in 1939....Castilian remains the official language and must be used on all official documents. But the decree means Basque, Catalan and other languages can be taught in public schools and used at public events. It is expected to open the way for regional publications, folk music and literature."

[2]It is interesting to note that those teachers who maintain a similar posture failed to learn Spanish beyond their home language, and as a result they employ the argument as a defense mechanism for their shortcomings. Some of these teachers are found today in bilingual-bicultural programs as the most vocal for favoring Spanish as an integral part of bilingual education. One is amazed if not saddened to encounter countless teachers who are unable to communicate intelligently in the language they so fondly propagate.

[3]Recently, a group of high school students in Southeastern Colorado stated, in part, that they wanted all school notices sent home written in "local Spanish and basic English." This has either been done in other cities, or at least an attempt has been made to comply with the wishes of interested groups. Typical is the following announcement that customarily accompanies school notices in one of the public schools in our city: "Para mas explicación, la escuelá esta dispuesta a dispacher una personal bi-lingue a su cas, solo llame éste telephone,..." This notice contains several mistakes, yet ironically no one has evidently complained about them during the past year or so.

[4]Virginia P. Clark, et al., Language: Introductory Readings (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972), pp. 397-398.

PART II

LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION OF DIALECTS

THE INHERENT VARIABILITY OF WORD FINAL /s/ IN CUBAN AND PUERTO RICAN SPANISH

by

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There are three major dialects of Spanish spoken and learned natively by American citizens. We may refer to them conveniently by the name of the countries of origin of the speakers or their ancestors: Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban. These are the Spanish "accents" most often heard in the United States and the varieties of Spanish our students--native speakers or anglos--will most often encounter. Although there has been a fairly substantial amount of research and study of the varieties of "Chicano" Spanish, very little has been done on Puerto Rican or Cuban varieties.[1] In addition the "standard" Latin-American pronunciation taught in most schools in the United States, although almost identical to "Chicano" or Mexican Spanish, is quite different from Puerto Rican and Cuban styles.

Problems arise principally in two situations. Anglo students, mostly in the Eastern areas of the United States, who have learned standard Latin American pronunciation often have great difficulties comprehending Cubans and Puerto Ricans. Their reaction frequently is that Puerto Rican or Cuban pronunciation is somehow substandard or inferior and therefore the lack of comprehension is the fault of the natives themselves and not the anglos or the school system. Native speakers of those dialects in addition often encounter teachers of Spanish who, perhaps unintentionally, imply that Puerto Rican or Cuban pronunciation is not as acceptable as the standard. In both cases, these problems often arise because teachers do not understand the phonological system of Cubans and Puerto Ricans. This is not surprising since native speakers themselves are normally unaware of their phonological systems. Even linguists have been unaware of systematic correlations; thus one cannot really blame the teacher for his ignorance in this matter.[2]

The phenomenon known to linguistics as aspiration of /s/ and in common language as comerse la ese is one of the most complicated, and unfortunately, least understood, of the phonological features of any variety of Spanish. The facts are simple from a phonemic point of view: syllable final (este) and word final (niños) /s/ may be rendered as a simple sibilant [s], as weak or strong aspiration [h], or simply deleted, Ø. Thus, niños may be rendered as niño[s], niño[h] niñoØ. In the latter case there is the possibility of confusion with the singular form.[3] Within structuralist phonemic theory we are forced to posit the allophones [s] and [h] in free variation with the deletion of the phoneme itself. Even in classical (abstract) generative phonology, there was no formal way of indicating correlations or

tendencies for rule application.[4] This inherent variability is anything but "free" as we shall see in the following sections.

The greatest problem presented by the Cuban and Puerto Rican systems is this inherent variability of certain phonemes, the /s/ being perhaps the most noticeable.[5] In common language, variability means "sometimes they do, and sometimes they don't!" Even if one asks a native speaker of these varieties of Spanish the "rules" to follow for aspirating /s/, he or she is most likely to claim that the variants are optional and that there is no system at all. Recent advances in linguistic theory, primarily stemming from the studies of William Labov on phonological variability, especially permit us to systematize what in structural phonemic theory was called "free" variation (see Labov, 1972 and Cedergren, 1973). Thus, with Cuban/Puerto Rican word final /s/, it was often said that a word like niños, the forms niño[s], niño[h] or niño were interchangeable. Labov's contribution was to show that this variation, or interchangeability is restricted systematically by factors which he termed "constraints." From our point of view as teachers we may think of constraints as factors which influence the speaker's choice between possible forms in any specific context. These constraints may be linguistic, i.e., phonological context such as prevocalic position, preconsonantal position, etc., or extralinguistic, i.e., age, sex, socio-economic level of speaker, style, and speed of speech. All these factors can interact in very complicated manners to produce the resulting forms of a given speech situation. In this paper we will examine the system of constraints which influence the speaker's use of [s], [h] or Ø for word and syllable final /s/ in Puerto Rican and Cuban Spanish, in the hope that this information will be of use to teachers of Spanish in areas in which these varieties of Spanish are spoken.[6]

I. General Considerations

There are two phonological processes which affect word and syllable final /s/. We may formalize "aspiration" as s ⟶ h and "deletion" as h ⟶ Ø. In this way we may speak of separate and possibly different constraints on aspiration and deletion. If we encounter a form such as libro[h], we will say that "aspiration" has applied. If the form is lo[h] libro, we will say that "deletion" has applied.

Extralinguistic constraints. There are no detailed studies of either Cuban or Puerto Rican Spanish in which extralinguistic

constraints are systematically investigated. However, there is information from several sources which indicate that, contrary to popular beliefs, the aspiration and deletion are affected very little by most extralinguistic constraints.[7] There is some evidence that the use of aspiration and especially deletion is favored by males, the younger generations, and the lower socio-economic classes.[8] The differences are light, however, and certainly not enough to be of great importance to us as teachers or students. In fact, it is more relevant to realize that neither process appears to be stigmatized and both are used by all social classes on almost all occasions. Thus, these processes are a part of the "standard" cultured speech of educated Cubans and Puerto Ricans as well as those of other socio-economic levels. It is extremely important that the students realize that this is a regular feature of educated Spanish and is not a matter of "sloppy" pronunciation.[9]

II. Phonological, Grammatical, and Lexical Constraints

The /s/ in word internal position is almost categorically aspirated, but not deleted, by Puerto Ricans and Cubans alike. Thus, only in the most formal styles--reading, speeches, special emphasis, affected speech--will the /s/ be rendered anything other than [h] in words such as espero, esto, isla, desde, mismo.[10] This is the category in which our students can use aspiration categorically without fear of deviation from the norm.

It is word final /s/ which varies according to context. In words such as colores, sus actividades, la luz, además, lápiz, tienes, fuimos, ellos, etc., the /s/ is aspirated approximately one-half of the time. In one-fourth of the cases the sibilant is retained, and in another fourth the /s/ is completely deleted. As we stated the retention of [s], its aspiration or its deletion is systematic for all Cuban and Puerto Rican speakers.[11]

There are four relevant phonological environments: (1) before consonants, (2) before unstressed vowels, (3) before stressed vowels, and (4) before a pause. The following examples will illustrate these contexts:

(1) before consonants: Los libros que les dí son interesantes.
(2) before unstressed vowel: Las intenciones parecen difíciles de juzgar.
(3) before stressed vowels: Sus hijos eran los únicos.
(4) before pauses: Estarán listos....pero antes....tengo que lavarlos.

The strongest constraint favoring retention of [s], rather than its aspiration or deletion, is the prepausal position. This is true for Cubans (61 percent [s]) as well as Puerto Ricans (46 percent [s]) although a pause clearly favors the retention of [s] more for Cubans than Puerto Ricans. This means that on about one-half of the occasions a pause will induce the speaker to use an [s]. Here are some actual examples from recorded interviews.

...en aquello[s]/lugare[s]/poblacionale[s]/(P.R. #21, p. 1)
...a una serie de dama[s]/(P.R. #13, p. 2)
...pasarán mucho[s] y mucho[s] año[s]/(P.R. #13, p. 6)
...cuando se ha actuado sobre unos supue[h]to[s]/de una....
(P.R. #19, p. 8)
...porque lo llevé a la inspección e[h]te me[s]/(Cu, #13, p. 23)
...yo digo en pueblo[s]/Cu, #6, p. 1)
...cuando ya se sirve una/algo más sustancioso algo ma[s]/Cu, #7, p. 18)

Both aspiration, [h], and deletion are of course possible:

...de una serie de circunstancia[h]/(P.R. #42, p. 1)
...tiene una idea, ma[h]o menoØ/(P.R. #42, p. 3)
...lo[h] modelo[h] lo[h] patrone[h]/(Cu, #2, p. 26)

On the other hand, preconsonantal position is very unfavorable for [s]. It only appeared in less than 5 percent of all occurrences for both Puerto Ricans and Cubans. Aspiration is clearly the norm, although complete deletion may occur, following rules to be discussed shortly. The following are examples:

...persona[h] como Dino Bussatti...(P.R. #22, p. 1)
...e[h] cue[h]tión de veinte año/(P.R. #22, p. 1)
...por la[h] floreØ o de rayaØ depende en/(Cu, #2, p. 26)

Prevocalic position favors retention of [s] only slightly, from about 10 to 20 percent of the time, with one important exception. If a stressed vowel is preceded by a determiner or other adjectival modifier, the [s] is almost always (80 percent +) retained.

(1) /s/ unstressed vowel

...de antiguo[h] techoØ y muroØ y...(P.R. #1, p. 1)
...a la[h] idea[h] pla[h]tica[h] de...(P.R. #24, p. 1)
...en lo[h] E[h]tado[s] UnidoØ/(P.R. #23, p. 4)
...por la[h] mucha[h] lucha[h] internaØ insi[h]tenta[h] en

Inglaterra/(Cu, #3, p. 16)

(2) /s/ stressed vowel

a. Determiner + vowel

...do[s] año[h] de france[h]...(P.R. #6, p. 4)
...todo[h] lo[s] años se enfermaba...(P.R. #5B, p. 3)
...en varia[s] hora∅/(Cu, #12, p. 3)

b. Others

...do[h] eran...(P.R. #23, p. 2)
...mucho[h] dijeron...que se le∅ hizo difícil... (P.R. #5, p. 3)

Deletion is somewhat more complex than aspiration (or [s] retention) and varies more between individuals, different social groups and even between Cuban and Puerto Rican speech. Even so, the differences are not great and we need not be overly concerned since in any case we are dealing with tendencies, not discrete categories. The overall rate for both Cubans and Puerto Ricans is about one-fourth. Deletion does not appear to be especially affected by phonological environment. The deletion rate is affected greatly, however, by grammatical categories.

The main grammatical correlations occur in the noun phrase with the plural marker. The elements can be conveniently divided into two groups--those that precede the noun and those that follow the noun including the noun itself:

PRECEDING	REDUNDANT
Los	libros
Mis primeras	lecciones
(son)	interesantes
Todos aquellos	cuadros
Muchos otros	tipos sútiles

Deletion among preceding modifiers is unusual. This constraint, which acts to preserve the number marker at the beginning of the noun phrase, is extremely strong in Cuban (only 4 percent deletion) and only somewhat weaker for Puerto Ricans (11 percent deletion). In fact if preceding modifiers are discounted, the deletion rate of all of the other occurrences of /s/ rises to about one-third of the total. Deletion in the elements of the noun phrase in which the

plural marker is normally redundant is even higher, usually above 40 percent of the cases. The following are typical examples of the output of these constraints.

...lo[h] diaØ fe[h]tivoØ/(P.R. #23, p. 1)
...yo he tenido caso[h]/interesanteØ/y difícile[h]/(P.R. #42, p. 4)
...tampoco en toda[h] la[h] carreraØ profesionaleØ el inglé[h] ...(P.R. #21, p. 1)
...sí, la[h] carosaØ/(Cu, #6, p. 26)
...o esa[h] boberíaØ de juventud...(Cu, #11, p. 15)
...mucha[h] personaØ que han sido invitadoØ aquí/Cu, #14, p. 6)

In Cuban speech a further constraint makes plural marking even clearer for the listener. If the noun is unmodified, as in for example, "un juego para niños", deletion is suppressed (only 19 percent deletion vs. 39 percent for modified nouns). For Puerto Ricans this constraint operates but only weakly (35 percent vs. 44 percent). Some examples follow:

...fuera de hora[h] de clase...(P.R. #6, p. 14)
...para tirar bola[h] al cana[h]to...(P.R. #23, p. 1)
...el material educativo como cartelone[h]/...(P.R. #33, p. 9)
...no dan resultádo[s]/(Cu, #4, p. 12)
...o cuando se hace autopsia[h]/al tomar mue[h]tra[h] de...(Cu, #4, p. 6)

Even in cases of deletion, the plurality is usually available from context or special forms:

...la[s] hija[h] de mi esposo, que él tiene hijoØ de otro matrimonio/(Cu, #11, p. 15)
...no hay dietaØ e[h]pecialeØ/(Cu, #2, p. 21)
...son llaveØ de cerradura...(Cu, #5, p. 22)

Although the system of deletion is most important in the noun phrase, there are other fairly strong tendencies which should be noted. In verb forms both Cubans and Puerto Ricans differenciate between the /s/ of the first person plural morpheme /mos/ and the /s/ of the third person singular present indicative of ser (es). Speakers of both varieties avoid complete deletion of the /s/ of es; Cubans more so (only 4 percent) than Puerto Ricans (19 percent). The /s/ in /-mos/ is freely deleted, however; Cubans more (66 percent) than Puerto Ricans (31 percent).

The /s/ of Tú forms, such as tú tienes, does not appear to be treated in any special way, regardless of the fact that there is a theoretical possibility for confusion with the third person singular forms if the /s/ is totally deleted. I say "theoretical" because in actuality the confusion is rarely realized because of the context of discourse. The following are typical examples:

(1) Nosotros forms

...vamoØ a suponer una campaña educativa...(P.R. #39, p. 9)
...donde vivíamoØ/(P.R. #10, p. 1)
Bien/pue[h] vamo[h] a/decirte...(P.R. #10, p. 13)
...que nosotroØ le decíamoØ solo que...(Cu, #14, p. 22)

(2) es

...mi vida e[s]/ante[h] de...(P.R. #16, p. 6)
...me parece que e[h] una enorme pena que...(P.R. #37, p. 1)
...e[s] el má[h] grande pintor...(P.R. #13, p. 1)
...creo que e[h] la única...(Cu, #3, p. 16)
...e[s] una cigüeña/(Cu, #5, p. 9)

For pronouns, deletion is also corrected with communicative needs. With the pronoun nosotros, in which the /s/ is totally redundant, deletion is normal, especially for Cubans (85 percent) and quite high for Puerto Ricans (56 percent). See the following examples:

...cuando nosotroØ tratamoØ de comprar...(P.R. #33, p. 1)
...y naturalmente nosotroØ quisieramoØ...(P.R. #21B, p. 7)
...empezaron elloØ como empezamoØ nosotroØ/(P.R. #24, p. 9)
...lo que nosotroØ allá llamamoØ comida es/(Cu, #7, p. 18)

The /s/ of the pronoun nos is on the other hand infrequently deleted (Cuban, 18 percent; Puerto Rican, 16 percent):

...no[h] gu[h]ta ver...(P.R. #33, p. 3)
...no[h] han explicado, verdad...(P.R. #33, p. 9)
...nunca no[h] tuvo que decir...(P.R. #16, p. 6)

Even in cases of deletion the meaning is normally clear from context:

...do[h] de e[h]ta[s] obraØ/que noØ han llegado/(P.R. #16, p. 6)
(the larger context of discourse makes it clear that the speaker could not have meant a negative sentence).

Deletion in ellos, los, las, les is somewhat below one-third, but still rather frequent considering the possibility of morphological

confusion: ellos-ello; los-lo; las-la; les-le. In context, however, the meaning, even with deleted forms, is normally clear:

...el otro, ello[h] no conciben por qué...(P.R. #6, p. 8)
...comenzar a dirigirle[s]/(P.R. #19, p. 5)

In words in which the /s/ is not a morpheme but an integral part of the word, luz, entonces, antes, después, lunes, análisis, deletion as applied to the entire group is fairly normal (Cuban, 30 percent; Puerto Rican, 23 percent). However, there are some minor tendencies worth noting. The /s/ of entonces is usually deleted (Cuban, 78 percent; Puerto Rican, 55 percent). Cubans avoid deleting the /s/ of proper names (11 percent); Puerto Ricans do not (32 percent). Both groups avoid deleting the /s/ of más (Cuban, 2 percent; Puerto Rican, 1 percent). Other items are deleted following normal rates (about one-third):

...el género que má[s]/he..que má[s]/...se pre[h]ta...(P.R. #22, p. 4)
...pue[h] e[h]tar pendiente de...(P.R. #5, p. 6)
...anteØ era un siglo...(P.R. #22, p. 1)
...era don Pablo Rui[s]/(P.R. #13, p. 2)
...entonceØ e[s] una literatura...(P.R. #36, p. 3)
...y entonceØ de allí/(Cu, #11, p. 1)
...la e[h]case[h] de hombre[h]...(Cu, #3, p. 20)

III. Conclusions

(1) The variability of word final /s/ in Cuban and Puerto Rican speech is systematic.

(2) The system followed by both Puerto Ricans and Cubans is in all essential respects the same.

(3) [s] retention is controlled, for the most part, phonologically: it is retained most before a pause, less before a vowel and least before a consonant.

(4) The [s] of determiners is retained almost categorically before a stressed vowel.

(5) Deletion is governed mainly by grammatical categories.

(a) The /s/ is rarely deleted in prenominally placed modifiers; it is frequently deleted in nouns, especially if they are modified, and in adjectives whose number indicator would be redundant.

(6) The /s/ is often deleted in nosotros, the /mos/ forms, and the word entonces.

(7) Deletion is rare with es and más.

One would not, of course, advocate that such a complex system be taught to students; such a task may well be impossible in any case. Students who interact with speakers who use this system will normally learn it unconsciously, albeit imperfectly, at first. The importance of this information for teachers lies in the development of a positive attitude toward different varieties of Spanish. However, the information in this article is only background; the teacher will decide, as always, on its usefulness in particular situations.

FOOTNOTES

[1]For Chicano Spanish see Bowen and Ornstein (1975) among many others. The only important works previous to the research of this author are Ibasescu's Cuban study (1968), Vallejo-Claros' study of social and geographical variation for certain Cuban phonological phenomenon (1970), Navarro Tomás' famous study of the speech of illiterate Puerto Ricans published in 1948, but with data collected in 1928, and Ma and Herasimchuk's (1971) excellent study of stylistic variation in the speech of Puerto Rican immigrants in New York.

[2]For example, even an eminent authority on Puerto Rican Spanish such as Ruben del Rosario (1970) thought that the [s] was restored "ocasionalmente, sin regla fija" (p. 82).

[3]It is a widely held view that if the /s/ is totally deleted the preceding vowel is opened to preserve the singular-plural contrast. Thus, niño and niños would contrast as [niño] vs. [niɔ]. There is evidence that this is not the case for Cuban Spanish (Clegg, 1968 and Hammond, 1973) and there is no reason to believe that it is valid for Puerto Rican Spanish. See Terrell (1975a, 1975b, 1975e) and Hooper (1973) for discussion. It will be made apparent in later sections of this paper why no such vocalic contrast is necessary to preserve the singular-plural distinction.

[4]Although we must agree with Labov (1971:434-435) that such correlations were reported in any case; however, imprecise the reports may have been, it was felt that some indication or frequency of allophones was better than none at all. Thus adverbs such as "frequently," "seldom," and "often" were liberally used. Ibasescu's study (1968) is typical of this type of structuralist study.

[5]Other important variables include word final /n/, which is velarized before vowels or pause in both Cuban and Puerto Rican varieties (Terrell, 1975f) and word and syllable final /r/, to which a number of processes apply including lateralization (r ⟶ l) (see Terrell, 1975h, 1975g).

[6]The data for the following sections is taken from the Cuban and Puerto Rican dialect projects which form part of the "Proyecto coordinado de la norma Culta de las principales ciudades de América Latina y de España." For further discussion of the Project, see Lope-Blanch (1969). The directors of the Cuban and Puerto Rican projects are Dr. Joseph Matluck and Dr. Humberto López-Morales to

whom I owe my sincerest gratitude for the extensive help they have given in these long months of investigation. The informants from which the data are taken are all members of the middle or upper socio-economic classes, most with advanced degrees. Therefore, the results cannot be considered anything less than representative of the "cultured norm" of these countries. The Cubans were of necessity refugees who were interviewed in Miami shortly after their arrival. The interviews were mostly semiformal but not forced. The data are reported and analyzed in detail in Terrell (1975j, 1975i).

[7]Principally Vallejos-Claro (1970), Ma y Herasimchuk (1971) and Cedergren (1973).

[8]At least this is the pattern reported by Cedergren (1973) for Panamanian Spanish.

[9]For stylistic variation in Puerto Rican see Ma y Herasimchuk (1971).

[10]In the Puerto Rican project the figures for this position were 6 percent - [s]; 89 percent [h]; and 5 percent deletion. For Cubans, the figures were 3 percent -[s]; 97 percent [h]; and 0.2 percent deletion.

[11]The individual studies are at this point incomplete, however, preliminary results tend to show that only deletion varies to any extent, and even in this case, the general constraints hold for all speakers although the specific rates may vary.

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ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF PUERTO RICAN SPANISH IN THE MAINLAND: THEORETICAL AND PEDAGOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

by

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Should we teach Puerto Rican students how to pronounce Spanish correctly? Some educators would find this question rather ludicrous but many would regard it as a perfectly normal one to be answered in the affirmative.

The notion that Puerto Rican Spanish (henceforth PRS) as substandard is widespread among speakers of other Spanish dialects in the United States (whether their Spanish is native or acquired), especially among those who have had no training in dialectology. But the notion that certain traits of PRS pronunciation need to be corrected is not exclusive of the non-Puerto Rican or the linguistically naive. There are Puerto Ricans themselves who hold this view and there are authoritative linguists who support it. One is the celebrated phonetician Tomás Navarro Tomás, author of what can be considered the classical study of PRS (1948). Commenting on one of the most characteristics sounds of PRS--the postvelar fricative rr ([R])--Navarro tells us:

> Al forastero le queda el recuerdo de la rr velar como uno de los rasgos más salientes y menos favorables de la pronunciación puertorriqueña."

But this value judgment was not limited to the outsider. Navarro goes on to report that:

> No obstante su extensión y presencia hasta en los círculos más instruídos, la rr velar es generalmente tenida en concepto de inferioridad ortológica. El sujeto de Dajaos manifestaba que había pronunciado siempre la rr velar hasta que un maestro lo acostumbró a articular la modalidad anterior [i.e., the standard alveolar trill]....todos los miembros de una familia de Mayagüez se servían de la rr velar menos un niño que, con admiración de los mayores, había adquirido en la escuela una aceptable rr alveolar (1948:93-94).

Navarro adds that Puerto Rico is the only Spanish-speaking country where [R] is not a "defect" but a "collective habit"; apparently there were educators at that time who thought of it as a bad one to be stamped out.

It has been almost half a century since Navarro recorded these observations (his study was conducted in 1928), but the notion that this sound is undesirable continues to be held, and PRS speakers in the mainland who had schooling in the island report having encountered

prescriptive pronouncements on the part of their teachers. The same pronouncements seem not to be lacking among non-Puerto Ricans teaching Puerto Ricans in the mainland. An Anglo teacher told me recently of her efforts to have Puerto Ricans eliminate [R] from their speech. "I told them someone called Ramoñ shouldn't be called a ham, or jamón," she related, pronouncing the word jamón with a voiceless velar fricative. Her confusion was typical of someone who has been trained to identify the Spanish language with "Castilian" or at least of someone who has been taught that the correct pronunciation of the letter j is [x]. The anecdote also illustrates her ignorance about PRS, where the words Ramón and jamón are never homophones, since j is pronounced [h] or the pharyngeal fricative and the initial sound of Ramón may be [R] or even the standard trill.

I. Dialectal Prestige in the Hispanic World and PRS

For well-known historical reasons, the former dialect of Latin spoken by the dominant class in the kingdom of Castile became identified with the Spanish language in the sixteenth century. All other Iberian dialects that were mutually intelligible with this variety but which departed from it in pronunciation came to be branded as aberrants. As is equally well-known, this variety experienced some radical phonological changes in the same century when it became the standard and has continued to undergo some not so radical changes up to our time. But in spite of these changes--which are expected of natural languages--the term Castilian has signaled in every epoch the standard of excellence in pronunciation.

The identification of Castilian with the 'true' pronunciation of the language continued in our time within Peninsular intellectual circles. One searches in vain for a full description of Castilian in the pages of Zamora Vicente's Dialectología Española (1967). It is not there because Castilain is simply not regarded as a dialect but as the language; only varieties that depart from it are described, including the Spanish spoken in the Americas.

The word Castilian applied to a single dialect of Spanish spoken by educated speakers ,setting the norms of pronunciation is a convenient way of talking about things, but it is largely a fictional entity. In 1918 Navarro Thomás published his Manual de pronunciación española, in which he described in all sorts of detail the pronunciation of educated speakers in the academic world of Madrid, making this variety equivalent with correct Spanish. Departures from this

norm were termed 'vulgarismos' or 'dialectalismos.'

Nowadays, the pronunciation of educated speakers of Madrid Spanish differs from that described by Navarro. For instance, these speakers are yeístas, i.e., they do not have in their phonemic inventory the palatal lateral prsent in other Spanish dialects (Peninsular as well as American). The same speakers have a tendency to pronounce word-final nasals as velar--a trait of PRS and other Spanish American dialects. There are probably several other differences. Yet the ghostly Castilian of Navarro's Manual--a book which has gone largely unrevised for as many as sixteen editions--has continued to function as the standard with which to compare other varieties. It is probably safe to state that there is no description of a Spanish dialect in print that fails to mention Navarro's Manual as a point of reference.

The term 'Castilian' can be more aptly applied to the set of Peninsular dialects that have both an interdental voiceless fricative phoneme, /θ/, and a slightly retroflex apical articulation of /s/. The absence of /θ/ from Spanish American dialects is known as seseo, after the fact that these dialects show /s/ where Castilian shows /θ/. In addition, Spanish American /s/ is predorso-alveolar.

Neither seseo nor yeísmo nor nasal velarization (in the countries where it occurs) is regarded as substandard in Spanish America, in spite of Navarro's dicta that all three are 'dialectalismos.' Navarro's recommendations that foreign students be taught the pronunciation of educated speakers described in his Manual was followed for many years in the educational establishment of this country, but the view now reigns that they be taught a seseísta and yeísta variety.

At any rate, no single dialect in Spanish America--real or imaginary--is regarded as the norm by all speakers in all countries. An ongoing project of one linguistic group is to study the 'norma culta' or the standard educated speech of the main cities of Spanish America (see Lope Blanch, 1969). The study is focusing on the capitals (e.g., Havana, Bogota, Buenos Aires). It is not always the case, however, that the variety of Spanish spoken in the capital is regarded as the norm by everyone in the country. For instance, educated speakers in the cities of Cuba's easternmost province, Oriente, do not regard Havana Spanish as the model to be imitated, considering in fact that their own pronunciation is better; and so do the speakers of the Antioquia region of Colombia in regard to the Spanish spoken in Bogotá.

It can perhaps be said that speakers anywhere in Spanish America are regarded as educated if their speech is generally free of the deletions that characterize the speech of the lesser educated as measured against the orthographic code and if they are capable of speaking in a precise and careful manner that is largely free of the phonetic variability associated with faster, more unguarded speech.

The case of PRS is unique in several respects. One must distinguish between the situation of the language in the island and within Puerto Rican communities in the mainland.

Puerto Rico is perhaps the only linguistic community in the Hispanic world where the speech of educated speakers show certain phonetic traits that are stigmatized by those speakers themselves. The two most salient of these traits are the use of R and the so-called confusion of l and r in syllable- and word-final position. The reason why these sounds are stigmatized is that they are associated with the speech of the uneducated, where they occur with much greater frequency. In addition, educated Puerto Ricans are aware that the educated of other Hispanic countries do not show these traits at all in their speech. This situation adds to the linguistic insecurity of a community long under assault by the English language.

As is well-known, most Puerto Ricans living in the urban areas of the continental United States come from the ranks of the poor and the less educated, and their speech patterns are in general those of the poor and the less educated. In addition to the above traits, they show in their normal speech a number of phonetic phenomena that the less educated of other Hispanic countries also have, and which are stigmatized in those countries.

In the course of their educational experience Puerto Rican students of low socio-economic status come into contact with Spanish-speaking teachers--both native and nonnative--that are far more educated than they are. A prescriptive attitude on the part of teachers with regard to pronunciation is bound to have deletereous effects on the self-esteem of students who think of themselves as Hispanic. On the other hand, teachers do want to help their students become educated speakers who can pronounce Spanish the way educated speakers do anywhere--including on the island of Puerto Rico.

How do we achieve this? Before attempting to answer, it will be useful to examine certain facts of PRS pronunciation in the light

of a very tentative set of assumptions.

II. Some Phonetic Phenomena in Spanish

We said before that in Spanish America speakers are regarded as educated if they are capable of using speech that is largely free both of deletion and of certain types of phonetic variability. But educated Speakers do not talk like that all the time. In speech usually characterized as more casual and less informal, they engage in a series of operations seemingly designed to spend less effort and less time in transmitting verbal messages. One of these operations is elision, or the absence of any surface representation for some systematic phoneme, resulting of course in a shorter utterance. Another is weakening, or the substitution of a segment associated with a lesser amount of articulatory energy. A third is assimilation, where two sequential sounds are produced with a number of features in common as a result of making the same articulatory gestures for the entire sequence.

In Spanish these phenomena involve mainly consonants and they occur mainly in syllable-final position and word-final position. The elision of /s/ and its weakening to [h]--the phenomenon known as 'aspiration'--occur in many dialects, and so do voicing and nasal assimilation.

Historical evidence supports the hypothesis that velar nasals in syllable-final position represent a process of weakening that later culminates in the disappearance of the consonantal segment in favor of nasalizing the preceding vowel. (It occurred in French, for instance.) Ma and Herasimchuk (1971) report vowel nasalization replacing the velar nasal in certain contexts in PRS. As to the confusion of l and r in syllable-final position, it is probably an instance of weakening as well, with non-continuant l perhaps involving lesser effort than continuant r (the realization of systematic /l/ as surface [r], which also occurs but more rarely, may be the result of hypercorrective strengthening.

Elision, weakening, and assimilation are present in casual speech in all dialects, however prestigious. Navarro's Castilian speakers are allowed to elide /s/ before f and θ (he considers it substandard to elide it before other consonants). They are also allowed to elide d at the end of nouns (e.g., verdá for verdad) and to elide the final sound of reloj. In addition, Castilian speakers in the flesh normally elide certain obstruents other than /s/ in syllable-final

position, and say asoluto for absoluto and alántico for atlántico (from phonetic ad-lán-ti-co). They also weaken every obstruent other than /s/ (e.g., /p, t, k, b, d, g/)--with Navarro's approval. Nasal and voicing assimilation are considered standard, and so is the assimilation of /s/ to the following rr, all other instances of place-of-articulation assimilation for /s/ being considered substandard (see Navarro, 1965 or any other edition of the Manual).

Of course, some dialects are more conservative than others phonetically and we can measure this conservatism by the degree to which surface phonetic representations resemble the systematic representations underlying them. But phonetic conservatism, which is socially more positive, can be seen as more negative linguistically if we attach value to the degree of energy spent in transmitting a message, for in that case the more innovative dialects are more efficient than the more conservative ones.

And if we were to attach any value to the degree of complexity of phonological processes, then certain dialects regarded as socially inferior would turn out to be linguistically superior because their speakers seem to be applying a more complex set of phonological rules.

Consider the case of /s/ in certain subdialects of PRS. I have noticed the following in PRS speakers in the mainland who hail from the municipal districts of Humacao, Yabucoa, Patillas, and Guayama, in the south. As in other Castilian dialects, they may elide /s/ in absolute final position and may also elide it in word-final position utterance-internally and in syllable-final position word-internally; they may also weaken it to [h]. In some other instances, if /s/ is in preconsonantal position--especially across word boundaries--it may be totally assimilated to the following consonant, thus resulting in gemination, e.g., los perros is pronounced lop perro, with the first p being nontense and unreleased.

Evidence from the careful studies of Ma and Herasimchuk (1971) and Terrell (1975) indicates that in PRS the allophonic variants of /s/ (these authors did not consider gemination to be one of them) are far from being in "free variation" and are subjected instead to rather complex constraints, where grammatical considerations play an important part. Thus these subdialiects of PRS have a very complicated set of rules, perhaps directed toward achieving a lesser degree of physiological effort (cf., Guitart, 1974), which would contrast with a simpler set possessed by dialects in which the

allophonic behavior of /s/ is not so variegated.

III. The Intelligibility of PRS

It seems to be true of educated speakers of Spanish--Puerto Ricans included--that they are able to communicate with one another with relative ease, even in casual speech, no matter which dialect they speak. Lexical differences exist from one dialect to another and are in some cases notable, but speakers seem to adjust rapidly to them.

I know of no reports of mutual unintelligibility occurring at an appreciable scale between any two Spanish dialects. One wonders whether this includes any two geographic or social subdialects from any two different countries. For instance, can uneducated speakers of dialect X understand uneducated speakers of dialect Y? No evidence to my knowledge has been presented that they can or cannot, perhaps because contacts between two such groups are not frequent. PRS speakers in the mainland seem to have no trouble communicating with Cubans of the same or different socioeconomic class, but this may be because their dialects are very similar phonetically. However, there are no reports of mutual unintelligibility between Puerto Ricans and Chicanos, or between the latter and Cubans. Isolated instances have been reported to me of mutual unintelligibility between PRS speakers and speakers of dialects other than Cuban or Chicano. But the lack of communication was not complete. One case involved a Castilian speaker teaching Puerto Rican children. They reported having trouble communicating with each other, but only sporadically. Another case involved a Bolivian factory worker in New York City who at times could not understand her Puerto Rican co-workers. One wonders whether these cases are more common and whether the lack of communication is brought about mainly by phonetic factors or lexical ones, e.g., the use of Anglicisms unknown to speakers of non-United States dialects of Spanish.

IV. Phonological Representation and Dialectal Variation

If Spanish dialects are mutually intelligible despite phonetic dissimilarities, it is because they share basically the same grammatical machinery. In generative terms, the morphological and syntactic similarities are so great that speakers of more conservative dialects are able to 'reconstruct' phonological representations from the 'degenerate' phonetic samples of more innovative speakers.

An interesting question is whether speakers of bolder dialects have in their phonlogical representations the segments missing from their phonetic samples, or whether they have shorter systematic representations, or whether their phonological representations are different from those of more conservative dialects. We are not referring to the case of seseísta and yeísta dialects vis-à-vis dialects that have θ, or the palatal lateral, or both. There are, of course, different phonological representations in those cases since there are no grounds--diachronic or synchronic--to assume that /θ/ underlies [s] or that the palatal lateral underlies [y] in the cases of seseo or yeísmo (see Harris, 1969, for a convincing argument that θ never underlay [s] in American Spanish).

Aside from the differences subsumed under the words seseo and yeísmo, we are interested in cases in which a dialect shows phonetic zero in places where other dialects would have an allophone with phonic content, or has allophones dissimilar from those of another dialect with which it is being compared, e.g., the occurrence of l in morphemes where the other dialect would have r.

If speakers of dialects showing Ø rather than a segment in some context did not have that segment at the underlying level, then the segment would never appear in the surface in any realizations of a morpheme or word which is longer phonetically in a more conservative dialect. Putting it differently, if speakers of a given Spanish dialect never showed [s] to indicate plurality or to mark the second person singular in verb forms, then there would be no phonetic grounds to posit /s/ in the underlying representations of nouns in the plural or of second person singular verb forms.

But there are indeed phonetic grounds to posit an underlying /s/ for forms in PRS that show Ø or weakening where other dialects have [s] (or [z] before voiced consonants); and the same can be said of forms which show Ø where other dialects have intervocalic [d]. For the evidence at hand strongly suggests that there are no speakers that lack [s] or [d] absolutely in the environments where these segments are usually elided. Ma and Herasimchuk (1971) found that PRS speakers in Jersey City, N.J.--perhaps a highly representative linguistic community--failed in some instances to either elide or weaken /s/ and failed to elide intervocalic /d/ even in the most informal of speaking situations.

The case of the so-called confusion of l and r in PRS is perhaps

of theoretical interest. The most prevalent manifestation of this is the use of [l] to represent what in other dialects is /r/ at both the systematic and surface phonetic level, resulting in e.g., alma and arma becoming homophonous. On this point Ma and Herasimchuk (1971:377) report:

> The confusion is widespread even among the literate high school-age Puerto Ricans in New York who have had to learn a more formal Spanish in school or who have had to learn to read it. They often confuse the spelling of words with the syllable structure CVRCV (where R is a resonant) and are likely to spell a word like acuerdo as 'acueldo' as to spell it with correct orthography....yet the confusion is not by any means complete. In formal styles, speakers will still show some adherence to the standard [voiced alveolar flap] value, that is, they are aware of the underlying morphophonemic shapes of words.
>
> [NOTE: these authors use R to designate the 'morphophoneme' that accounts for the l/r alternation, whereas we have used the same symbol in previous pages to designate the postvelar rr.]

A comment is in order. Unless they are linguists, speakers are not aware of anything underlying. What these investigators are saying is that PRS speakers who "confuse" l and r have underlying /r/, which they may realize as [ṙ], [l], or Ø. One thing the speakers seem to be aware of is not the 'morphophonemic shapes of words' but rather their orthographic shapes.

V. Orthography and Speech

Ma and Herasimchuk found that in the l/r alternation, the lateral was more frequent than the flap, both in careful and casual speech. However, when the speakers read aloud a list of words the flap was more frequent than the lateral in one context: preconsonantal position internal to a word. The proportion was 61 percent for the flap and 34 percent for the lateral, with the remaining 5 percent being cases of gemination (e.g., catta for carta).

Because of alternations like señor/señora, mejor/mejorar, etc. the reading competency of PRS speakers must include the knowledge, not only that the letter r can stand for the alveolar flap but also that it can stand for systematic /r/. If upon seeing the letter r

a speaker pronounces it as a flap, is it because r symbolizes the surface segment [r] or because it symbolizes the phoneme /r/?

If it were because it symbolizes [r], then we should not expect either [l] or gemination to happen at all in list reading. But if it were because it symbolizes /r/, we would expect [l] to occur, since, under certain conditions, it is an allophone of /r/; and the same can be said of the syllable-final consonant which represents /r/ in gemination, even though it has a phonetic identity that can be quite remote from an alveolar flap, e.g., it can be [m] as in imme for irme, etc. The speaker who says [imme] upon reading irme has obviously read /irme/.

Suppose that the realization of /r/ in final position as either a flap, a lateral, or gemination depends on the degree of articulatory energy available to the speaker at any given moment. That is to say, /r/ will be realized as the flap if the speaker is "careful", i.e., if he dedicates to that segment a sufficient amount of energy; if the degree of energy is lowered for whatever reasons, the lateral results; if articulatory strength is lowered even further, gemination results. We may see it as a continuum of possibilities going from the strongest flap to a realization where there is no energy available at all and elision results. In every case the underlying representation remains the same and has the features [- syllabic, + sonorant, - nasal, + consonantal, + coronal, + anterior], i.e., it is an alveolar liquid, which will be realized as either a flap or a lateral through further phonetic specification or have its features changed radically in case of gemination.

The degree of energy that a speaker can dedicate to the pronunciation of /r/ in final position will depend on many extralinguistic factors usually relegated to the limbo of performance, such as tiredness, distraction, stylistic alternations of articulatory precision, etc. One important factor bearing on performance but which is perhaps entirely a matter of competence is the speaker's implicit knowledge of the need or lack of need for articulatory preciseness. If the speaker 'knows' he can transmit the same message using less energy, he will proceed to do so.

The speaker will take advantage, for instance, of morphological and syntactic phenomena that make articulatory precision superfluous. Why bother to pronounce a strong flap in the last word of tengo suerte ('I am lucky') if there is no possibility that in the context

it may be taken to mean suelte ('let go') if /r/ is pronounced weakly, thus producing a lateral?

If our hypothesis were true, it would serve to explain why Ma and Herasimchuk's PRS subjects had more laterals than flaps in the realization of /r/ before consonants when reading from a continuous text and had also a relatively high percentage of geminations, for a continuous text is much more redundant than a word list.

On the other hand there is the 'stylistic' factor. If a speaker of PRS is conscious that the realization of /r/ as either the lateral or gemination is a stigmatized feature, he can deliberately produce the flap by increasing articulatory strength. This is mere speculation but the fact that speakers 'hypercorrect' sometimes and pronounce systematic /l/ as [r] (e.g., fácir for fácil) may be due to substituting the psychological purpose of pronouncing an alveolar liquid with an extra degree of articulatory strength for the phonological purpose of pronouncing it as [l].

It would seem, however, that stylistic considerations do not weigh as much as articulatory strategies. Why should the reading of a list be more 'formal' than the reading of a text as Ma and Herasimchuk have it? It is equally devoid of prestige to realize /r/ as a lateral when reading a word in isolation than when reading a word within a text, and yet in text reading the speaker makes more laterals (and more geminations for the reasons already explained).

VI. Orthography and Elision

When the energy available for the realization of a given underlying segment is zero, elision occurs. This total reduction of energy is in some cases apparently brought about by the speaker's 'knowledge' that the segment is superfluous. Ma and Herasimchuk found for instance that PRS speakers elide /s/ at the end of nouns in the plural modified by preceding adjectives already marked for plurality, e.g., muchas cosas was pronounced mucha[h] kosa, with /s/ being weakened at the end of the adjective but not disappearing. If this weakened version of /s/ suffices, as it seems to, for transmitting the notion of plurality, then the final /s/ of cosas is actually redundant, and the speaker may dispense with it.

When reading aloud, however, the same speakers experienced a significant reduction in the number of cases of elision, not only of /s/, but of /r/ and /d/ as well. Elision of /s/ was negligible in

both reading a text and reading a list, in the context 'syllable-final position internal to a word'. In contrast, it occurred in 11 percent of the cases in the same context in speech classified by these investigators as casual and most informal. For all contexts of syllable-final /r/, elision occurred only once in the reading of a text and not at all in the reading of a list. As to intervocalic /d/, elision was negligible in list reading and had a rather low frequency in text reading, as contrasted with a frequency of almost 60 percent in speech defined by the authors as casual.

On the other hand, elision of /s/ occurred in both reading styles in certain contexts where grammatical redundancy warranted it, reaching a frequency of 22 percent in final position of words modified by an article in the plural and followed by a word beginning with a vowel (e.g., los hombres hablan) in text reading. (Data on this and other highly redundant contexts were not available for the list reading style.) Again, this points to the relationship between allophonic distribution and economy of transmission.

The overall reduced occurrence of elision in the reading styles could be imputed to the sheer presence of the orthographic symbols. That is to say, if one sees a letter one tends to pronounce it. The curious thing is that in at least three contexts in text-reading style, elision is more frequent than weakening. The opposite should be true if the orthographic presence were significant, for [h] is at least segmental. In reading a list, the same phenomenon occurs when /s/ is in final position and is not a morpheme.

In addition, in two of the three contexts in which elision is more frequent than weakening in the text-reading style, the same relation holds in casual speech, suggesting an energy-saving strategy (to elide is more economical than to weaken) unaffected by orthographic or stylistic factors.

But why should [s] be more frequent than [h] in the same contexts since the latter sound requires a lesser amount of articulatory energy? (Cf. Guitart, 1973). One explanation within our hypothetical framework may be that the mode of reading per se requires a significant amount of energy which causes the speaker to produce the strongest allophone.

In other words, we hypothesize that in a phonetically innovative dialect such as PRS, the presence of standard allophones in the more precise speech that characterizes reading is due, not so much to a

one-to-one relationship existing between certain orthographic symbols and those allophones, but to the fact that these are the allophones that result automatically when a high degree of articulatory energy is available.

VII. The Case of Postvelar R

Ma and Herasimchuk found that the standard alveolar trill [r̄] was not absent from any style, no matter how casual. In fact, only in casual speech was the postvelar variant R more frequent. This does not equate with Navarro's observations but it does equate with our personal experience with PRS speakers on the mainland.

On the other hand the postvelar was present in both reading styles, suggesting that the letters r in word- and syllable-initial position (as in rojo, honra) and rr in word-medial (as in perro) do not stand for the trill allophone but for the underlying systematic phoneme /r̄/.

The postvelar variant may be regarded then as the weaker allophone of /r̄/, occurring in less energetic speech.

VIII. Speech Styles and the Influence of the Printed Word

Ma and Herasimchuk have been criticized for including reading aloud as a speech style (see Craddock, 1973). Whether or not this criticism is valid, the evidence indicates that the presence of the written text exerts a considerable influence on speech phenomena. It might have been of interest if these investigators had included among their styles oral discussion by the subjects of materials they had read. One wonders if the printed word can exert the same kind of influence on speech at a distance. That is to say, if a speaker of an innovative dialect discusses orally a topic that he has learned primarily from reading, will he show less elision and weakening than in discussing something he has learned in any other way?

The answer is probably yes. Consider the phonetic behavior of educated speakers of innovative dialects who leave /s/ and /d/ out in fast unguarded speech and put them back in when they engage in a certain type of speech that can be described as more careful and more formal and that is generally slower, clearer, and more precise. What kinds of topics, settings, situations, etc., elicit this type of speech?

The rate at which utterances are pronounced influence of course

their phonetic content and it may be that in slower tempos certain phonetic operations such as weakening and assimilation cannot be executed. On the other hand elision is possible in speech that is both slow and relaxed. Tempo then is not always positively correlated with an increase in the distance between underlying and superficial representations.

What about formality? The labels 'formal' and 'informal' are highly useful since everyone seems to understand what they mean. Serious topics are formal and light topics are informal. Speech in the home is informal and speech in the classroom is formal, etc. It is possible, however, to discuss the most serious topics using relaxed speech and to use precise speech for emphatic purposes in the most banal interactions. And so the phonetic phenomena associated with relaxation can appear in formal speech but disappear from informal speech when emphatic behavior intervenes.

The speech style that is consistently more articulatorily precise than any other is what we will call arbitrarily spoken prose. It is speech that shows great similarities with written language. It is for instance largely free of the syntactic imperfections, e.g., hesitations, false starts, run-on sentences, that characterize other types of speech. Like written language, spoken prose is highly edited and the reason why it is generally slower than other modes of speech may be that the neural apparatus responsible for language needs time for the editing. In addition it shows a clearer separation between words, perhaps a reflection of the spacing between words in written language.

Speakers who are highly literate, i.e., written-language oriented are capable of engaging in spoken prose. This type of speech will appear when speakers discuss topics they have learned from reading. Like reading, it involves a high degree of energy which is translated into fewer instances of elision, weakening, and assimilation. Like reading, it is not entirely free of the energy saving phenomena that speakers engage in when grammatical redundancy obtains.

IX. Pedagogical Implications

If our hypothesis is correct, then Puerto Rican students will inevitably speak like educated Puerto Ricans as their level of education rises.

Administrators and teachers involved in the education of Puerto

Ricans on the mainland should become enlightened as to the historic and social roots of dialectal prestige and become aware that stigmatized phonetic traits are, in fact, manifestations of highly complex phonological patterns, in no way inferior to those of more conservative (and more phonetically redundant) dialects.

In addition, non-Puerto Rican speakers of Spanish involved in teaching Puerto Ricans should perhaps direct their energies to becoming familiar with these phenomena rather than forcing students to give up their high efficient phonetic operations.

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I. Introducción

Este trabajo ha sido hecho con un propósito orientador para los maestros bilingües de Boston que trabajan con los niños puertorriqueños dentro del sistema educativo bilingüe. En especial para los educadores cuya lengua principal es el inglés.

La razón por la cual decidí hacer esta corta investigación sobre las frases idiomáticas del español en Boston se debió a un hecho muy significativo; un estudiante comunicándose con una maestra y esta última no lo entendía aún cuando ambos hablan el español muy bien. El estudiante utilizaba las frases idiomáticas del español de Boston las cuales eran desconocidas por la maestra. En esta investigación entrevisté considerable número de personas de diferentes partes de Boston cuya población hispana se calcula en unos setenta mil.[1]

Sin embargo, de acuerdo con las diferentes personas con quienes tuve el honor de hablar y confiando en sus conocimientos sobre el área, estas frases idiomáticas son utilizadas por un treinta y cinco por ciento (35%) de la población y conocidas por un sesenta por ciento (60%) dentro de los barrios de South End, Dorchester y Roxbury, barrios predominantemente hispanos.

Gran parte de la población conoce el significado, mas es rara la vez que lo usan.[2] La razón por la cual gran parte de la población hispana puertorriqueña de Boston no utiliza mucho estas frases idiomáticas se debe al tipo de educación que se recibe en Puerto Rico, educación que no enfatiza que las frases idiomáticas más el diario lenguaje tienen su valor tanto como la Real Academia de la Lengua Española. Este tipo de educación fue la que siempre consideró este modo de hablar como de gente "chusma" o sea de gente sin educación acreditada por las grandes universidades del estado; este tipo de educación, el cual está cambiando hoy considerablemente, ha visto que este modo de hablar, que evolocuonó del idioma tiene un valor incontable dentro de las requezas del mismo y que todas las clases sociales aportan gran cantidad de valores a una lengua.

Conociendo que la mayoría de los maestros y maestras bilingües están en la dispocisión de aprender este lenguaje diario de muchos de sus estudiantes, su dialecto, sus costumbres; es que me inclino a hacer este tipo de investigación, esperando que algún día estos mismo maestros y maestras se comuniquen en forma sencilla y sin problemas.

II. Frases Idiomáticas

A

1. agusao, (que agusao) = astuto, persona despierta, lista.
   Muchacho qué agusao tu eres!
   Cuidado con el vendedor que es más agusao!
   Para triunfar uno tiene que ser agusao.
2. amén, ("amén") = así sea, que así sea, bien.
   Amén a lo que tu digas.
   Brother ok! amén! = frase utilizada por los que han vivido aquí mucho tiempo.
3. arde, (esto está que arde) = difícil, que pica.
   Esto está que arde.
   El problema está que arde.
   Las escuelas en Boston están que arden.
4. arrancao, (estoy arrancao) = sin dinero.
   No puedo ir a la fiesta porque estoy arrancao.
5. arrebatao, (que arrebatao) = no tener control de su mente.
   Estás arrebatao.
   ¡Qué arrebato tiene!

B

6. Buena, (estar buena) = ser agradable, mujer elegante, atractiva, llamativa.
   Esa chamaca está buena.
7. bomba, (que bomba) = culpar, caer mal.
   Esa persona me cayó como bomba.
   No me eches esa bomba a mí.
   [Esta frase tiene su origen en la cognotación de explosión].
8. buche, (coge un buche) = bocado, callarse lo boca.
   Dale un buche a éste que ya molesta.
   ¡Chico, coge un buche yá!
   [Refiérese aquí a la regla de que cuando se está comiendo no se debe hablar.]

C

9. cabeziseco, (que cabeziseco) = torpe, no piensa.
   Muchacho, no seas cabeziseco y ve a la tienda.
   ¡Qué cabeziseco es este hijo que no le entra na!
10. camarón, (está camarón) = difícil, del mero.
    El juego está camarón.
    Esa joven está camarón.

11. camellar, (vamos a camellar) = caminar.
    Vamos a camellar antes que venga la jara.
    Vamos a camellar que esto está flojo.
    [Esta frase es utilizada por aquellas personas que están o han estado envueltas con drogas.]
12. capacidad, (que capacidad) = ser inteligente, y al mismo tiempo no serlo.
    ¡Qué capacidad ah! = es decir, qué ignorante.
    ¡Qué capacidad! = es decir, qué inteligente.
13. casino, (vete al casino) = infierno.
    No molestes y vete al casino.
    [Esta frase o forma de expresión es como una forma de tapete cubridor para la maldición "carajo." Al casino sólo van los escogidos, así mismo al infierno. Además esta frase surge del pueblo oprimido que ve al casino como lugar de juego de los ricos, como algo que el pobre no puede alcanzar; como todo allí es dinero y el pobre no lo tiene, entonces el ir allí significa ir al infierno, al "carajo."]
14. coba, (darse coba) = alabarse a sí mismo.
    Le gusta darse coba como a el solo.
    Se dá más coba que un mueble.
15. coquito, (de coquito) = referente al coco, referente a la piragua de coco.
    Dáme una de coquito. = piragua de coquito es la combinación de hielo raspado con el sabor de coco adentro. Como también la hay de tamarindo y limón.

Ch

16. chamaco, (que chamaco) = muchacho, títere.
    Este chamaco se cree hombre.
17. chaves, (no chaves) = no molestes, fastidiar.
    Ve a jugar y no chaves más.
18. chévere, (bien chévere, que chévere) = bien bueno, fantástico.
    Esa persona es bien chévere.
    Pasamos un día chévere en el lago.
    El día está chévere para una cerveza.
    [Se utiliza además en Venezuela.]
19. chillar, (chillar gomas) = quemar, hacer sonar.
    Le gusta chillar gomas.
    [Esta frase de "chillar gomas" se refiere al acelerar el automóvil y detenerlo al momento. Usualmente la juventud

masculina piensa que el chillar gomas en frente de un grupo de muchachas le va a impresionar y tal vez alguien se enamore de él. Refleja socialmente un complejo de inferioridad y falta de valor.]

20. chiripa, (una chiripa) = algo fácil, por suerte, de casualidad.
    El examen fue una chiripa.
    Encontré este trabajo de chiripa.
    El bateador le dio a la bola de chiripa.
21. chota, (que chota) = persona habladora que descubre un secreto cuando no debe.
    Si fuera presidente, le daría muerte al chota.
    El chota es un mal a la sociedad.
    El chota se vende por dinero.
22. chuchin, (esto está chuchin) = bueno, excelente.
    Esto va a quedar bien chuchin.

D

23. date, (data una) = tomar.
    Date una fría.
24. deso, (y deso) = entonces, pues.
    El venía corriendo...y deso...se cayó.
    [Esta frase se utiliza cuando el vocabulario es bien limitado.]

E

25. echuaras, (que echauras) = prósera, orgulloso, poseído.
    ¡Qué echauras es ese chamaco!
26. enfogonao, (estoy enfongonao) = con coraje, disgustado.
    Estoy enfogonao porque no me dejan jugar.
    [Posiblemente esta palabra tenga su origen de la palabra fogón, o sea lugar donde se pone la leña y varias piedras para cocinar. Para cocinar es necesario que haya fuego.]
27. estar, (estar en algo) = buen futuro, buena posición.
    Hay que estar en algo hoy día
    [Es decir que por el hecho de existir uno debe de ejercer su vocación como ser humano, uno debe ser útil.]
28. estar, (estar hecho) = estar en algo, tener suerte, buen futero.
    La maestra está hecha.
    [Quiere decir que tiene suerte, que su futuro es fácil.]
    La joven está hecha con el doctor.
    [Quiere decir que están enamorados, que se gustan.]

F

29. familia, (familia de la Edison) = consumidores de mucha electricidad.

Ustedes parecen familia de la Edison.
[Refiérese esta frase a aquella persona que consume mucha electricidad, aquella persona que sólo necesita una bombilla prendida y prende cinco, en cada rincón de la casa algo está consumiendo energía eléctrica. La Edison es la compañía eléctrica de New England. En Puerto Rico la frase que so utiliza para esta misma acción es: Familia de la Fuentes Fluivales que es igual que la Edison aquí.]

30. feca, (meter la feca) = mentir, incapaz, cosa sin valor, materia fecal.
Ese tipo le metió la feca al policía.
Qué feca es esa persona y tanto que habla.

31. fenómeno, (que fenómeno) = maravilla, cosa grande, valiente.
¡Qué fenómeno es ese señor!
[Refiérese a que es valiente.]

32. flojo, (que flojo eres) = débil, incapaz, sin espíritu.
Ese muchacho es un flojo.
[Refiriéndose a que no se movió a buscar la acción.]

33. fracatán, (un fracatán de cosas) = muchas, un sinnúmero.
Debo hacer un fracatán de trabajo.
[Esta frase es muy común en todos los niveles sociales y niveles por edad. El mismo sonido de la palabra "FRACATAN" expressa cierta fuerza, cantidad que la palabra 'mucho' no expresa.]

34. freno, (poner freno) = detener, controlar.
Ponle freno a tu conducta.

35. frito, (estar frito) = no tener salida.
Estás frito, pues la policía te busca.
[Esta frase muy usada en todos los niveles sociales, una vez tenga el significado de estar en aprietos se puede utilizar en diferentes ocasiones.]

36. fría, (una fría) = cerveza.
Dame una fría.
¿Te das una fría?

G

37. gaciao, (estar gaciao) = gastado, sin dinero, agotado, delgado.
Estás gaciao mi'jo.
[Estás delgado, mi hijo.]
Ese disco está gaciao.

38. grande, (uno de los grandes) = importante.
Se cree uno do los grandes.

39. guame, (que guame) = fácil.
Este trabajo es un guame.
[Esta frase se utiliza bastante, es una frase de todos los niveles.]

40. guille, (que guille) = creerse algo, creerse lindo, importante.
[Tiene un guille de mamito que esta gaciao.
Tiene un aire de lindo que se está muriendo. Como se puede notar, se han incluído tres frases en esta oración que requiere cierto conocimiento de estas mismas para que haya comprensión. Esta frase se usa muy a menudo.]

41. güira, (que güira) = cosa fácil.
Esa asignación es una güira.
El jugador de basketball a veces espera una güira. O sea, espera que lo dejen solo para que él pueda hacer la jugada sin problemas.
[Se le llama güira a la uva del café en la parte central de Puerto Rico. Un ramillete de café maduro (uva) facíl de coger se le llama güira.]

H

42. harina, (hacerse harina) = hacerse polvo, molerse.
Vamos a hacernos harina.
[Quiere decir, "vamos a querernos mucho." Cuando en una pelea alguien dice, "Te voy a hacer harina," quiere decir que va a dar golpes por cantidades asombrosas.]

J

43. jara, (la jara) = camión de la policía, perrera.
A correr que por ahí viene la jara.
Vamos a echar un pie que viene la jara.

44. jaraguaso, (un jaraguaso) = un trago de ron.
Dame un jaraguaso bien bueno.
[En las barras, esta frase es la número uno.]

45. jeba, (que jeba) = muchacha hermosa, esbelta, coqueta, elegante, linda.
Tengo una jeba que manda madre.

46. joda, (que no jodas) = molestar.
Te he dicho que no jodas más.
[No se recomienda el uso de esta frase en público, pero es esencial saber su significado ya que se usa en un momento de ira.]

47. jorobe, (no jorobes más) = fastidiar, molestar.
Te he dicho que no jorobes.

["Jorobes" tiene una connotación más aceptada que "jodas" aunque casi significan lo mismo. Se puede usar en público sin ofender.]

48. jumaso, (qué jumaso) = cigarro.
Dame un jumaso bien bueno.

49. jumeta, (qué jumeta) = borrachera.
Tiene una jumeta que está arrebatao.
La jumeta de ayer aún le dura.

50. justicia, (la justicia) = la policía, la ley.
Por ahí viene la justicia.
[Se utiliza esta frase para describir a la policía puesto que si se menciona la palabra policía es posible que el policía de habla inglesa la entienda. Luego, para no dejarse entender, se utiliza esta frase. La misma la usa la gente joven con inclinaciones a la droga.]

L

51. lapa, (qué lapa) = pegajoso, persona que siempre está abrazando a otra.
Parece una lapa.
¡Qué lapa míjo, dame un chance!

52. lampiño, (qué lampiño) = habla mucho, que no tiene pelos en la lengua, que le gusta el bochinche.
Esa chamaca tiene una lengua lampiña.

53. leña, (meterle leña) = golpear, darle con un palo.
Leña con los pillos.
Leña con los picapiedras.

54. loro, (habla más que un loro) = hablador, que repite.
¡Ave María si pareces un loro!
[Por lo general, al loro se le ha conocido porque siempre está repitiendo y haciendo ruido; de aquí viene el origen de esta frase.]

M

55. mamito, (qué mamito) = persona elegante o que se cree elegante.
Ese chamaco se cree un mamito.
José es el mamito del barrio.
[Mamito es aquel que siempre anda bien vestigo, siempre está a la moda, aquella persona que tiene cautela al vestir, andar y lucir.]

56. mamey, (qué mamey) = fácil.
Hablar es un mamey, pero actuar no.
¡Qué mamey es descansar todo el día!

[El mamey es una fruta de sabor muy bueno y fácil de tomar del árbol.]

57. mangar, (vamos a mangar) = escapar, cominar, no dejarse coger.
Vamos a mangar que viene la jara y estamos fritos y pueden que nos den leña y eso no es un guame.

58. mazeta, (por la mazeta) = cosa bien hecha.
Está comida está por la mezeta.
El discurso estuvo por la mazeta.
[Es posible que el origen de esta frase tenga su raíz en el trabajo manual donde se molía el maíz y el café en un pilón y una mazeta o instrumento de madera para triturar granos.]

59. mero, (del mero) = difícil, problemático, caótico.
Este gobierno está del mero con los impuestos.
[Esta frase se utiliza mucho entre la gente joven y de edad media.]

N

60. nota (estás como nota) = perfecto, en control, bien limpio, en orden.
Ese está como nota.
[Esa persona está libre del uso de la droga o la bebida. Usualmente las personas que utilizan esta frase han sido personas que de alguna manera u otra hand estado envueltos en problemas de droga. Una nota es igual a estar "clean."]

O

61. ópera, (qué ópera) = qué molestia.
Mi'jo, qué ópera.
[Opera como frase unida a "que" es un tipo de maldición en sentido religioso, es un escape a la palabra sagrada "hostia." Aunque alguna gente es más sincera y utiliza esta última sin escrúpulos.]

62. pai, (que pasa pai) = amigo, pana, brother, compai.
Pai, deme un jumaso.
Tómalo con calma, pai.
[Esta palabra en frase la utiliza la gente joven como señal de respeto, ya que el ser compadre requiere respeto mutuo.]

63. palo, (dame un palo) = un trago de ron.
Voy a darme un palo, compai.
El quiere un palo de ron bien cargado.

64. pana, (mi pana) = amigo, colega.
Mi pana, las cosas están del mero.

Mi pana, venga acá.
Panita, ayúdame aquí.
[Hay posibilidad que esta palabra tenga influencia inglesa de la palabra "partner."]

65. perico, (pareces un perico) = hablador, loro, el que no se calla.
Habla más que un perico.
¿Comiste périco hoy?

66. persona rata, = el que habla de los demás.
Ese chamaco es una persona rata.
[No se puede confiar en él porque descubre todos los secretos actuales y por hablar con respecto a una persona y su modo de vivir. El significado u origen de esta frase proviene de la comparación con la rata, la cual busca su comida cuando nadie le ve, porque tan pronto la ven desaparece, de la misma manera la persona rata, en frente de otro no dice nada pero tan pronto esta persona se va, comienza a hablar.]

67. perrera, (la perrera) = carro patrullero de la policía cuyo físico se parece a una perrera de tomar perros sueltos.
A correr que por ahí viene la perrera.

68. pica, (esto está que pica) = difícil.
Me marcho porque esto está que pica y se va a formar un problema.

69. piérdete, (piérdete ya) = desaparecer.
¡Mirá, piérdete del mapa.
Generalmente esta frase se usa cuando una persona es incordial. La usa todo el mundo en general. Es posible que sea una traducción directa del inglés "get lost."

70. pilar, (te van a pilar verde) = dar golpes, darle una paliza.
Si molestas, te voy a pilar verde.
[Pilar significa demoler, hacer harina, quitar la cáscara. Usualmente se pila algo que está seco ya que se requiere menos fuerza. Al pilar un grano verde se requiere bastante fuerza, de aquí la expresión pilar verde.]

71. pinche, (un pinche) = vendedor de drogas, el que suple la droga.
Ese chamaco es un pinche y la jara lo está vigilando para pilarlo verde.
[Frases de drogadictos que se utilizan en el lenguaje diario de la gente que no está envuelta en droga.]

72. píntate, (que te pintes) = pierdete, desaparecer.
Píntate que no quiero verte.
[Esta frase significa la acción de la pintura que es hacer desaparecer defectos. Al pintarse algo se va a ver mejor y los defectos de la madera desaparecen.]

73. plegoste, (qué plegoste) = problema difícil.
Juan se ha metido en un plegoste con la jara.
[El origen de esta palabra viene en sentido comparativo con la misma palabra, un plegoste es algo pegajoso, difícil.]

74. porra, (vete a la porra) = infierno, carajo.
Vete a la porra y no vuelvas más.
[La frase "vete a la porra" es también en escape, una palabra tapete o cubriodora. La frase en su forma auténtica sería: Vete al carajo. Porra significa aun más, significa materia fecal en su sentido popular. Se utiliza la expresión, idiomatica de porra simple porque es aceptada en la comunidad y al mismo tiempo lleva el sentido expresado en la forma en que se diga. El énfasis está en el tono de la voz.]

75. pujilato, (dejate de pujilato) = problema, desacuerdo.
Pai, dejese de pujilato porque está frito.
Hay un pujilato dentro del comité escolar que pica.

76. puñetero, (que puñetero) = muchacho travieso, malo.
Qué puñetero de muchacho éste.
[Aungue esta frase dialectal se ha usado por mucho tiempo, es recomendable que el educador la conozca, más no la use porque tiene un sentido un poco pesado además del de travieso.]

Q

77. quemarse, (estar quemao) = seco, con ardor de estómago.
Cogí una jumeta anoche y hoy estoy quemao.
[Esta frase de "estar quemao" suele venir después de una noche de bebidas fuertes, luego el estómago exige jugos frescos al día siguiente.]

R

78. rajeta, (qué rajeta) = borrachera.
Cogio un rajeta anoche que hoy está quemao.

S

79. salsero, = amante de la salsa (música movida de Puerto Rico).
Mi hermano es un salsero de los bravos.

[La salsa es un variante de la música puertorriquena con un ritmo movido y sabor africano. Es la música del día.]

80. sea, (sea tu estampa) = maldito sea tu persona.
¡Sea tu estampa y la de tu familia!
¡Sea tu raza!
[Esta frase es una abreviatura-tapete-cubridor para una maldición tan común con la gente de pueblo. Es más aceptable el "sea tu estampa" que la maldición en todo su apogeo.]

81. se cree algo, (se cree algo) = pensar que es importante.
El principal se cree algo.
El vendedor de seguros se cree algo.
[Usualmente esta frase se utiliza para destronar a aquellas personas que se olividan de su origen. Además, si una persona es muy dominante y "mandona" se cataloga con esta frase idiomática.]

82. seco, (estoy seco) = sentir necesidad de tomar una bebida.
Estoy seco por una fría.
Hace dos días que no toma y está seco.

83. solar, (te queda el solar y lo debes) = estar delgado, muy delgado.
A José le queda el solar y se lo debe al municipio.
[Quiere decir que está tan delgado y en malas que hasta el solar que le corresponde en el cementerio público aun lo debe. Además, se refiere a no tener "sentaderas" por ser tan delgado que los pantalones le bailan encima.]

84. sonar, (te van a sonar) = dar, golpear.
Si buscas te van a sonar.

85. soso, (esto está soso) = sin sabor, muy calmado.
Vámonos que este baile está soso.
[Soso significa algo sin sabor. La comida está sosa cuando le falta sal. El café está soso cuando le falta azucar y un baile está soso cuando no tiene salsa caliente, música movida y con buen ritmo. Esta frase es mayormente referente a fiestas y espectáculos. Además, significa aburrida.]

T

86. tecato, (él es un tecato) = el que usa la droga.
Mi amigo es un tecato.

Y

87. yola, (qué yola) = barco pequeño, algo ancho.
¡Qué yolas tienes por zapatos!

III. Frases Idiomaticas de Origen Ingles

B

88. boila, = boiler
La boila se rompió.

89. brothel = brother
Oh brother, déjame quieto.

C

90. craqueao, (estar craqueao) = cracked up
Mi hermano está craqueao.

91. cursey, (qué cursy) = curtsey.
Ese chamaco es muy cursy.
[La palabra en inglés es curtsey, sólo se ha tomado el sonido de la misma y se ha puesto al espanol. Significa en español aquella persona muy amanerada, muy sofisticada, muy fina que deja de ser ella o él.]

92. chance, (dame un chance) = chance.
Dame un chance y te demostraré quién soy.

F

93. forgere, = forget it.
Si no me paga hoy, dile que forgere.

94. fornitura, = furniture.
La fornitura me viene hoy.

95. friqueo, (estar friqueao) = freaked out.
Mi amigo está friqueao.
[Esta frase se utiliza en el mundo de los desesperados y en especial el de los amantes de los drogas.]

G

96. guachimán, (el guachimán) = watchman.
Mi papa trabaja de guachimán.

J

97. jaitona, = high tone.
Esa muchacha es una jaitona.
[Esta frase tiene una cognotación discriminatoria. Se utiliza comúnmente para describir aquella joven que es muy poseída y perteneciente a la clase alta. Se ha usado en sentido político, porque en Puerto Rico como en Boston se piensa (en la clase alta) que para sobresalir en la sociedad hay que negar su origen.]

L

98. lonche, (el lonche) = lunch.
El lonche de la escuela no sirve.

M

99. marqueta, (la marqueta) = market.
La marqueta de la esquina es mi favorita.

N

100. norsa, (la norsa) = nurse.
La norsa de la clínica es bien buena.

101. porche, (el porche) = porch
El porche de mi casa es nuevo.

R

102. rufo, (el rufo) = roof.
El rufo de mi casa es colorao.

Y

103. yarda, (la yarda) = yard.
La yarda de mi escuela es grande.

IV. Análisis

La evolución de la lengua es algo que no se puede negar. Esta evolución es un enriquecimiento de la misma. Es el instrumento de comunicación utilizado por una parte de la sociedad. Si un idioma fuera estático, dejaría de enriquecerse con tantas nuevas palabras que se crean gracias a lo inventivo que es la mente humana. El ser humano es un ser sujeto a cambio, algo que evoluciona, algo que se perfecciona, que se enriquece y que se comunica; es por esta evolución humana que la lengua adquiere sus características.

Sería ideal pensar que veinte generaciones pasadas hablaban la mismo lengua que la generación actual. Esto, como dije antes, es imposible, ya que la técnica actual exige una transformación del idioma para poder expresar terminos que en las generaciones pasadas no existían.

Sería ideal, además, pensar que este cambio, esta transformación existió sólo en generaciones pasadas. La realidad es otra, pues dentro de un mismo tiempo y espacio en una misma sociedad surge esta transformación. Como la sociedad es tan compleja, es difícil controlar las reglas de un idioma; controlarlas todas sería negar el derecho de los seres humanos a expresarse como mejor les convenga. Es en esta libertad donde se resalta la belleza de la lengua como instrumento comunicativo.

La evolución de la lengua es muy rápida y dentro de una misma comunidad existen diferentes frases idiomáticas significativas para

una parte de la misma y desconocida para la otra. Tomando como referencia la comunidad hispana de Boston y en especial la comunidad hispana residente en Dorchester, a través de las frases idiomáticas arriba expresadas, podemos observar que existe un movimiento, como siempre ha existido, que se encarga de hacer posible esta evolución lingüística fuera de las llamadas estructuras de idioma. Estas frases idiomáticas las usan la mayoría de esta comunidad, especialmente las personas entre los trece (13) a treinta y cinco (35) años de edad. Esto no quiere decir que los menores de trece y los mayores de treinta y cinco no entiendan estas frases. Todo lo contrario. Estas frases idiomáticas son un reto para lo establecido y difíciles de aprender. Es por eso que forman un dialecto característico de cierta parte de la comunidad.

Para efectos de este trabajo es importante saber que en esta evolución de la lengua, dentro de la comunidad hispana de Boston, el inglés tiene una influencia tremenda. Es lógico, pues el inglés es la lengua oficial de este país.

Además, muchas de estas frases tienen su origen y razón de ser gracias a una pequeña parte de la comunidad hispana-puertorriqueña que se envuelve con el uso de la droga y desarrolla un lenguaje único entre ellos. Através del tiempo, esta creatividad fraseológica transciende su ambiente y se mezcla con el resto de la sociedad que no se relaciona con el uso de la droga. Por eso es importante tener en cuenta la influencia de esta parte de la comunidad que, aunque sea mínima, participa en la evolución del lenguaje.

A todo maestro bilingüe que esté ejerciendo su profesión en Boston, le es esencial tener un conocimiento de estas frases. En este trabajo, sólo he mencionado un pequeño número de las muchas que hay, pero creo que ayudarán a crear un mejor entendimiento entre el educador y el estudiante. Enseñar es comunicar, es trasmitir una idea al mismo tiempo que se está en la dispocisión de recibir otra. Cuando un educador no logra esta trasmisión de conocimientos, hay muchas razones que influyen en ello, pero para el propósito de este trabajo sólo quiero enfatizar que si esta trasmisión no llega al niño, es porque las vías de comunicación utilizadas no están dentro del contexto lingüistico utilizado por el niño. Una vez más se necesita que el educador se nutra del lenguaje del niño. Sucede a veces que el educador se comunica con el estudiante y este último le entiende porque, además de tener parte del vocabulario del educador también posee frases idiomáticas. También puede suceder que el

educador no entienda al estudiante al expresarse éste en frases idiomáticas. Por ejemplo, cuando el educador le entrega un examen al estudiante y éste dice, "Esto está del mero, está cayuco," puede surgir una mala interpretación de parte del educador y puede reaccionar negativamente en contra del estudiante. Lo que dijo el estudiante fue que el examen le parecía difícil.

Es posible que muchas de estas frases se encuentren en forma escritas y otras no, ya que tienen su origen aquí en Boston en años muy recientes. Estas frases idiomáticas son el pan diario de la comunidad hispana. Es interesante observar cómo, con frases idiomáticas, es posible una comunicación comprensible en esa misma comunidad con significado completo: Ese chamaco lo pilaron verde por velar güira y creerse algo, Ahora sólo le queda el solar y está tan gaciao que parece un fenómeno friqueao. Ya no chillará más gomas ni velará chiripas. Mejor se va a camellar porque la situación está del mero. Está camarón y puede ser que lo manden a la porra o al casino.

La unión de estas frases crea un significado en sí y la persona que quiera entenderlo, debe de concentrarse minusiosamente en el estudio de estas frases idiomáticas si desea consequir diálogo.

La utilidad de estas frases idiomáticas además de tener un valor evolutivo en la lengua española es la economía de palabras. La época en que estamos es una época donde todo es movimiento rápido y el tiempo parece no rendir. Por eso las frases idiomáticas son la economía del hablar. Por ejemplo, "¡Qué echauras!" en otras palabras sería; "Esa persona es muy orgullosa y nadie le pasa." Esta frase ahorra tiempo y además tiene una cualidad significativa pues con una sola frase se dice mucho. Otra frase de esta índole sería. Estoy arrancao, que quiere decir que tengo muchas necesidades, muchos gastos pero no tengo ni un centavo.

Para recibir una buena educación el niño hispano, y en especial el niño puertorriqueño, es importante que el educador tenga un conocimiento de estas frases idiomáticas. El niño generalmente ve en el educador una fuente de confianza y sabiduría al descubrir que éste se puede comunicar con los miembros de la comunidad. Si el educador no es capaz de esto, pueden surgir varias interpretaciones: o el educador no es capaz de desempeñar su puesto o menosprecia la lengua de la comunidad. Para evitar este conflicto, el educador debe conocer las frases idiomáticas que brotan de la boca de los jóvenes.

NOTAS

[1]Esta cifra es aproximada ya que no existe en Boston una fuente de información que dé esta informacion exacta.

[2]Usualmente se le dá credito al lenguage del llamado "culto" o educado en grandes colegios del mundo, pero en P.R. hasta donde conozco, no se consideraba al pueblo como aportador del desarrollo del lenguaje.

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PART III

METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

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Within college and university language departments, little has been done in the area of Spanish instruction for bilingual Chicanos except for isolated efforts by individual instructors. In fact there is little genuine interest in any type of language instruction within university literature departments where language classes have traditionally had a second-class status and been relegated to junior faculty and teaching assistants, all of whom see the task as a necessary but dull step in their pursuit of a career or degree. Literature departments have fought to retain the language programs under their wings not in order to develop and implement new ideas in the acquisition of a second language or a second variety of language but to bolster their student enrollment and to ensure the presence of students in their upper-division literature classes. It is then no surprise that they have neglected the native-speaker and his particular language needs.

Traditionally language and literature instructors have been elitist, narrow-minded academicians, unwilling to let go of those norms which in a sense justify their privileged ranks in the profession. The suggestion of a new approach or the questioning of those dearly acquired norms clearly constitutes a threat to the instructor interested in maintaining the status quo. Many Chicano students fall into the hands of these purists of the language and suffer the expected consequences. It is well-known that Chicano students are often automatically designated as "C" students in language classes by their Spanish instructors, whether these instructors are Spaniards, Latin Americans or Chicanos themselves.

Those departments that do offer special sections of language instruction for Chicanos often provide instructors with one of the following theories: (1) the verbal deficiency theory, or (2) the cultural deficiency theory.

Those representatives of the first theory believe that Chicanos are verbally deficient, that they have an inadequate proficiency in both English and Spanish. The extremists here come to believe that Chicanos are alingual, that is, that they have no native language, no language at all. In effect, this type of instructor questions the intelligence of the Chicano, his power of conceptualization and his ability to reason logically. Some instructors who agree with the deficiency theory consider their task demeaning and hopeless. The prime objective of those filled with missionary zeal, on the other hand, is to introduce their Chicano students to the grammar of the Real Academia,

to vosotros and escribiese and retrete in order to rescue them from a sure linguistic death. The approach here is prescriptivist and often racist or classist.

Those representatives of the second theory deal with bilingual Chicanos as students deprived of their heritage. For these instructors, the objective must be to acquaint the student with cultural artefacts which they believe will allow the student to feel pride in himself and his culture. It is true that these instructors never concern themselves with the socio-economic causes for these feelings of inadequacy. No, their concern is with eliminating the symptoms rather than with analyzing the wound. The classrooms of these instructors are typical: sombreros, handmade flowers, sarapes, maps of Mexico, rebozos, pictures of Juárez and pictures of Aztecs, all the stereotypical trimmings associated with Chicanos.

Both of these approaches are insulting to Chicanos. The first theory assumes that the Chicano is ignorant and incapable of coherent expression. What generally happens in this case is that the instructor concentrates his energies on constant correction of the student and on repeated expressions of horror before what is said to constitute substandard Spanish. The second approach is paternalistic and condescendingly assumes that the Chicano student must be babied and handled with a pacifier. Here the instructor stifles language development and limits the student by retarding expansion of his linguistic repertoire.

It is in hopes of stimulating the creation of appropriate language sections by instructors with a different perspective that this article appears to offer a few observations and suggestions based on experiences in teaching Spanish to Chicanos at the University of Texas at Austin, at the University of California at San Diego and during Teacher Corps summer HILT (High Intensity Language Training) programs.

When one discusses Spanish classes for Chicanos, one is referring to those set up exclusively for bilingual students. The term "bilingual" is rather broad and includes within it various degrees of bilingualism. Let us then be precise in our definition. By "bilingual" we mean a speaker with native competency in the language, that is, a speaker who possesses a mental grammar of a variety of Spanish. Note that this definition says nothing about performance, that is, about the speaker's actual verbalization but rather deals strictly with the speaker's level of competence in Spanish, that is, with his

innate ability and potential to understand and produce the Spanish language, whatever the variety. As most Chicanos know, there are a number of Chicano children and young people who understand the Spanish spoken at home by their parents and relatives but who for social and psychological reasons refuse to answer in the language and resort to English. Peer pressure, academic pressure, socio-economic pressures, all of these can block performance in a language. Given the proper context where there is positive reinforcement for their potential performance, these speakers suddenly amaze their instructors and families by speaking Spanish. It is, of course, never the case that these speakers have "learned" the language in a relatively short time but rather that they have ceased to repress their native language potential.

All of the speakers in class may then have a native competency in the Spanish language but their linguistic repertoires may differ. Chicanos, particularly those from rural areas or from Texas, speak a popular variety of Spanish with a great deal of morphological regularization, giving forms like vivemos, puedemos, vinites, vénganos, vuélvanos, traiba, pieses, etc. Other speakers may have different cases of morphological regularization (for example, vinistes, sabo, etc.) but will share with the Texas speakers a number of phonological regularizations (for example, peliamos, tualla, hablâu, etc.). A few other variants, like polecía, vide, semos, asina, also occur in some varieties. Within the tense system we note that the function of the conditional tense is assumed by the imperfect indicative or imperfect subjunctive (for example, -¿Qué harías? - Yo le preguntara a mi mamá. or -¿Qué harías? - Yo agarraba el dinero.) Outside of phonology, morphology and syntax,[1] the instructor must know the vocabulary of his/her students and be particularly conscious of the borrowing process from one language to another and of the presence of code-switching, an interesting phenomenon in itself.

These are just a few examples of the types of variants that a language instructor of Chicano students must be aware of if he/she is to facilitate the language development process effectively. It is necessary to point out that the instructor's task is not to change the student's grammar; it is not to facilitate the loss of specific grammar rules or the substitution of rules from one variety to another. The instructor's task is simply to facilitate the acquisition of a second or third grammar of Spanish which the student must acquire for practical reasons: for writing term papers and compositions, teaching in bilingual education programs, reading literature

in Spanish, working with translations, improving skills for a future job, etc. It is not for any idealistic, bombastic reasons that one must acquire a standard variety of language but for concrete material reasons.

Activities in the classroom must be relevant to the students' goals and to life in the Chicano community. In other words, the course must provide the student with a skill, with a tool. If the student is going into bilingual teaching, he/she must acquire the vocabulary and practice necessary to explain concepts in math, science, history, etc. If the student is interested in social work, he will have to inform clients about health facilities, diseases, services available, legal procedures, etc., in Spanish. Some students may be planning to major in literature and to continue later with graduate studies in Spanish and Latin American literature. In these cases since students will be expected to write term papers in Spanish, with a format for writing book reviews, introduce him to writings on criticism and give him the opportunity for extensive practice in writing.

Some students are not particularly interested in using Spanish in their chosen fields but rather in learning through a Spanish course about Chicano writings. For some students this course may represent their only contact with material concentrating on the Chicano experience. Appropriate readings dealing with a historical and socio-economic analysis of Mexican immigration into the U.S., early concentration of Chicanos in agricultural work, later concentrations of Chicanos in urban services and blue-collar work, segregation in the barrios, low educational attainment of Chicanos with an analysis of socio-economic factors involved, relation of Chicanos to USA economic system, etc., should be provided. Many of these readings are available only in English. Instructors should allow students to read these texts in English outside of class so that they may be presented as reports or topics of discussion in Spanish during class time. Readings of this kind stir many reactions which can be channeled and utilized for enrichment of vocabulary.

It may well be that the Spanish class will become the one spot on campus where Chicano students may come together to discuss questions that their science-oriented, Western-Civilization university courses never focus on. The instructor should recognize that Chicano-related issues are legitimate areas of study even if not so considered by traditional schools, university department heads or middle-class Spanish teachers.

Knowing in general the topics or areas that could be touched upon in class is not enough, however. The most important thing is the preparation of each individual class. Before entering the classroom the teacher must have in mind specific objectives to be attained that day. The instructor cannot set up a goal like this:

"Today we will discuss the reading on bilingual education."

but rather,

> "At the end of this class most students should be able to define in Spanish the types of bilingual programs currently being set up to explain in Spanish to a group of parents what an adequately administered bilingual program meeting the language needs of that particular community should be."

If the students can do these things, then they have acquired a socially necessary tool on that day. Teaching should be socially and politically productive labor time.

Discussion of readings is only one activity. There are a number of others which should be incorporated into Spanish classes for bilingual Chicanos. Several of those that will be mentioned here were developed for the aforementioned HILT programs by coordinators Rosa Kestelman and Susana Maiztugui. Specific activities could include the following:

1. Mini-lessons: One of the best learning techniques is the preparation and presentation of a lesson in the target language. This activity leads the student to organize his material in Spanish, prepare the necessary vocabulary and choose the steps and structures which will best serve to explain his lesson as clearly and specifically as possible within the allotted time.

2. Mini-presentations: These do not involve teaching a concept as such but may be short presentations of opinion, stories, anecdotes, reports, or current issues.

3. Newsletter writing: Students can build-up writing skills in Spanish by practicing with Newsletters or leaflets to be sent to older Chicanos or parents informing the community about a particular problem or activity that requires their attention and possible support.

4. Readings: As indicated before, these should concern Chicano-related issues and should, if possible, be in Spanish. If they are

not available in Spanish, they can be read in English outside of class and discussed in class in Spanish.

5. Actos: A current issue after having been discussed in class can become the theme of a skit. If possible these skits should be recorded, later transcribed and used as reading material. The instructor may initiate the activity by assuming the situation. Suppose, for example, that the class has been discussing the roles of Chicanas in the home. In this case, the instructor may ask for volunteers and suggest the following situation: a pregnant, unmarried daughter forced to confess to her parents. Students are fantastic in role-playing and really become involved in skit activities.

6. Translations: Stories and articles not available in Spanish may be broken up into parts and translated collectively by groups of 3 or 4 students. The isolated parts may either be read aloud to the entire class, written out and shown with a projector on the wall, or typed out, mimeographed and distributed to all class members. The class may also become involved in translating an important item, law, regulation, etc., for monolingual Spanish speakers in the community.

7. Aural exercises: Short presentations taken from radio or TV broadcasts in Spanish or selections from speeches or records can be taped and played in class to build aural comprehension; the instructor may have to prepare the students for the difficult vocabulary and later reinforce the exercise by asking specific questions on the material just heard.

8. Grammar: Native speakers should review those parts of grammar which may offer variants in their particular Spanish varieties. In other words, students should not spend time reviewing those elements which they already know, regardless of the variety that they speak. The instructor should concentrate on leading the students to discover exactly what the differences are between Spanish varieties. For example, the instructor may present the two varieties, ask for student comments on differences perceived and later say:

> "We generally say: 'Cuando vuélvamos...'; the standard variety, however, requires that we say: 'Cuando volvamos...'. These variants are produced by different grammars. Our goal then should be to develop the ability to switch from one variety of Spanish to another at will whenever the situation warrants it. The difference here lies in a shift of stress

> in the nonstandard variety which automatically produces the diphthong. What we have done, in effect, is regularize the stem of the verb in our variety: vuelva, vuelvas, vuelva, vuélvamos, vuelvan."

The student must be aware that there is nothing illogical about vuélvamos but simply that the standard variety by retaining the stress on the penultimate syllable impedes the diphthongization of the underlying vowel. The fact that the stem is not always the same in the standard variety explains why these verbs are called "irregular."

At some point early in the quarter or semester the instructor must talk briefly about the process of standardization and explain that the process of codificaiton often represents the linguistic choices of the prestigious, influential group assigned to set up the language norms but that there is nothing inherently better about a form preferred by the dominant society as opposed to one used by the masses.

9. Mechanics: The instructor must review those spelling and punctuation rules which give any native speaker of Spanish difficulty. Spanish teachers must be well aware that Chicanos receive no relevant instruction in Spanish at any time in their schooling although they do receive 12 years of English grammar required by the educational system.

10. Conversion: The instructor should provide the students with exercises which allow them to take a text written in one Spanish variety and convert it to another variety. In so doing, the student becomes conscious of the fact that each variety has its own function and is appropriate in specific contexts and situations.

Few texts have been prepared for the native speaker of Spanish in the Southwest. One of these, Español para el bilingüe by Marie Esman Barker, is typical of the elitist, purist school which considers nonstandard variants as "vicios de vocabulario," "barbarismos" and the teacher's task to be one of speech correction. Her textbook contains numerous exercises defining "formas correctas" and "formas viciosas," what is permitted ("se dice...") and what is not ("no se dice..."). Barker simplistically reduces linguistic change and grammar rule differences to ignorance:

> Muchos de estos no saben bien ni el inglés ni el español y suelen mezclar palabras, significados, letras, etc. (p. 47).

Other references to "el elemento corriente de la sociedad hispana" and to "palabras o expresiones no dignas del habla de la gente decente" (p. 47) are revealing about her attitudes and biases. Regularization of verb forms are explained as "la tentación de cambiar el orden de las letras en la primera persona del plural" (pp. 100-101). This prescriptivist textbook also contains cultural notes on language and ethnicity. Barker defines "pocho" as an individual who is ashamed of his "heritage" and who admires another culture:

> (a quien no le gusta ser lo que por herencia le toca; El pocho pertenece a un elemento de la población que no puede admirar lo extraño sin menospreciar lo propio [p. 1]).

She completely neglects to inform the reader that the term is used by Mexicans and Hispanics to insult the U.S. population of Mexican-origin but prefers instead to place the blame for the defamation on the victim. To reduce the situation of the Chicano to a problem of identity is to fail to recognize the historical and socio-economic context which surrounds the Chicano in the USA. Her words on language are just as biased:

> ...el pueblo usa el idioma con pronunciación, expresiones y modismos propios de ellos; las personas cultas emplean pronunciación correcta y vocablos castizos (p. 3).

There is nothing incorrect about the pronunciation of trujo nor could it be any less castizo, even though it is a popular form (see Diálogo de la lengua by Juan de Valdés, written in the 16th Century). This type of textbook is more harmful than helpful.

Another text for bilingual students is Español para el Hispanohablante prepared by Susana Maiztegui and Rosa Kestelman. It includes a number of exercises dealing with Spanish grammatical and lexical aspects that may present difficulties to bilingual students and several exercises providing practice in writing. More specifically the textbook offers a number of grammar exercises useful in a class for native speakers of nonstandard varieties (for example, several dealing with gender, irregular verbs, conditional tense, sino vs. pero, qué vs. cuál, etc.). It also offers a series of exercises introducing the student to varied styles of writing and other techniques which can help the student to synthesize (for example, exercises on sentence subordination, subject-raising, complementizer transformations, pronominalization, indirect style and reflexive passivization). The

enrichment of vocabulary is facilitated through a number of exercises on morphology (derivatives, compound words, formation of verbs, adjectives and nouns, etc.), descriptive writing (especially those introducing sensorial adjectives) and false cognates. Problems of English interference are covered in exercises contrasting categorical changes in translation (for example, Spanish infinitives vs. English gerunds). One particular section deals with spelling difficulties, syllabication, accent marks, and punctuation. Some of the exercises, however, do not specifically focus on variations common to Southwest native-speakers of Spanish but appear as they would in textbooks for monolinguals learning Spanish as a second language (for example, ser vs. estar, preterite vs. imperfect, subjunctive vs. indicative). In these particular cases, the instructor would have to be aware of the particular variants occurring in the Chicano dialects. Perhaps the authors could pinpoint in a second edition the specific grammatical items which offer difficulty to speakers of other varieties of Spanish. An important section of the textbook offers the student exercises for practice of writing skills. Some of the activities covered are letter writing with examples of format and suggestions as to type of letters that could be addressed to parents, community groups, etc., and suggestions for oral reports, translations, etc.

Altogether, the materials in Español para el hispanohablante offer a varied assortment of exercises which can be incorporated into a class for native-speakers of diverse proficiencies and which allow for the practice of skills in highly relevant activities. Unfortunately the textbook is not accompanied by a Teacher's Manual outlining the possible procedures in presentation of the materials. This textbook could be supplemented with readings exemplifying diverse varieties of language in the Chicano Southwest and with articles discussing the relation between social change and linguistic change.

Whatever materials are chosen, the best teacher will be the one with sound sociolinguistic training, aware of the diversity of varieties within a language, as well as of the diversity of varieties within a speaker's linguistic repertoire, aware at the same time of the socio-political implications in the use of particular varieties. The instructor must be aware that all grammars are rule-ordered and logical, that linguistically no language variety is superior to another. At the same time, he must understand that socially, varieties reflect the status of the speakers of those varieties, that socio-economic stratification implies stratification of language varieties

and of languages. Therefore varieties or languages associated with low-income people are also given a low status by the dominant group in society. The teacher must first of all critically evaluate the norms set by the dominant society, check out who is being assimilated and who rejected through the establishment of these norms and analyze the implications of this standardization process. Most importantly, he must also lead the students to this information and this analysis. At the same time he must not allow himself to mystify popular varieties of language by association of these with a glorified past or with present cultural myths. The language instructor should also keep in mind that presently the Spanish language has no prestigious functions in the Southwest. Chicanos are not in the same socio-economic situation as the French in Quebec. To conclude, the instructor must look at the linguistic situation within its historical context and take all of the surrounding facts into consideration. Only then will he be able to proceed correctly.

FOOTNOTES

[1]For more information on Spanish varieties of the Southwest, see: Rosaura Sánchez, "Nuestra circumstancia lingüística," in Voices (Berkeley: Quinto Sol).

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TEACHING THE BI-LINGUAL STUDENT:

WHAT WORKS AND WHAT DOESN'T

by

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The Spanish Department at New Mexico State University long ago recognized the need for teaching the native speaker of Spanish separately from the nonspeaker because of the differences in problems faced by the two groups. So in 1945 a one-semester course named Corrective Spanish was instituted, open to students with a native knowledge of Spanish.

In those days the attitude toward the native speaker born in the United States was no different at New Mexico State than anywhere else--that the "errors" of the Mexican-American or Spanish-American whose language acquisition and use were centered around the home environment only, had to be "remedied" and that anyone bearing a Spanish surname had a moral obligation to speak Spanish "properly." And so some teachers undertook the task of teaching the native speaker with second-year review grammars written with the English speaker in mind, occasionally choosing editions written in Spanish, assuming that if the student spoke the language, although "incorrectly," he could still read and understand elaborate grammatical explanations without any difficulty.

Fortunately attitudes have changed. The validity of each individual's use of his own tongue is recognized today, and standard forms of Spanish are taught only as another way to enrich the student's total university experience, not as a corrective measure. The name of the course has gone through several changes from Corrective to Remedial to the present Spanish for Spanish Speaking Students and has been expanded into a two-semester course that satisfies the language requirement of the College of Arts and Sciences normally accomplished by taking two years of a foreign language. The teaching of the course is normally assigned to teachers who are not only native speakers themselves but who are also familiar with the student's own dialectal variations and are sensitive to his needs and to the fact that through most of his past school experiences the student has been constantly reminded of his language weaknesses rather than his assets.

In our department the decision of what or how to teach this course is left up to the individual teacher. In my case I have concluded that there are four basic areas that need to be stressed, based on my past experience and on the students' own opinions about what they would like to emphasize during the semester. I have defined the four areas as follows:

1. Vocabulary acquisition

2. Spelling
3. Development of oral skills applicable to formal situations
4. Reading comprehension

For the native speaker who plans to major in Spanish, accomplishing these four goals is not such an impossible task because besides having continued contact with standard Spanish through the remainder of his course work, he will have to take an additional two-semester course of Advanced Composition and Grammar required of all majors. But for the student whose only contact with standard Spanish will be just these two semesters of Spanish for Spanish Speaking Students, even introducing the four areas mentioned above poses a problem of too much material to be covered in too short a period of time.

In very broad terms, the semester plans work as follows:

1. First Semester: emphasis on spelling and vocabulary acquisition;
2. Second Semester: creative writing and short talks with emphasis on standard verb forms.

During both semesters a certain amount of time is also devoted to reading as well as to other minor topics not mentioned here. My choice of reader for the first semester is Tomas Rivera's "...y no se lo tragó la tierra", a book that I have used successfully since 1971 when it appeared. For the second semester, I will be using for the second time next spring, "Estampas del valle y otras obras" by Rolando Hinojosa; both books published by Qunito Sol. As to textbooks, until we can convince the publishing companies of the need for materials to study Spanish as a native speaker, particularly at the university level, we will have to manage with the existing texts, inadequate as they are, or work from one's own unpublished manuscript as I do.

I will mention here only some of the ways in which I handle spelling problems the first semester. Initially the amount of subjects to be covered does not appear excessive if one considers that most standard textbooks for the English speaker handle them in the first few introductory pages. But it is precisely these subjects--the alphabet, the diphthongs, the syllables, the accents--that the native speaker has to review and look at in depth if he is to learn to recognize the sounds that he hears or pronounces in order to reproduce them in writing accurately.

To say that Spanish is a phonetic language and that therefore words are written as they sound does not work when the student cannot identify either the sounds or the printed form of words, even of those words with which he is familiar. At times this difficulty is simply a case of interference of English sounds as when the student writes Spanish words while thinking of English phonemes as in meado for miedo. In other instances the problem appears as a combination of interference plus simple failure to identify certain sounds or to distinguish them from others. An example of this would be cean for quien or cede for quiere.

I begin by explaining what the letters of the alphabet are called in Spanish, something that most students have not had much need to know, but which becomes essential if I am going to be talking about how a word "se escribe con jota o con zeta o con be grande." I have discovered that the student's own name is a good practice tool not only because in acknowledging the right of each individual to write his or her name as he or she pleases, the student begins to see how the same sound can be represented in various ways. Brijido can write his name with a J and Senaida can write hers with an S if they want to even thought someone else may choose to do it with a G and with a Z. We can either dream up all sorts of wild possibilities of writing our names without changing the sound or we can refer to the local telephone book to illustrate the point of what one can do when given the freedom to represent the same sounds. At the same time, I caution Hilda and Hermán that should they live in a Spanish-speaking country, if they want their names pronounced with the sound of English H they better write them with a G or a J, otherwise they will be read as if written Ilda, Ermán, without an H. I can also tell Christina that the sound of K will not come out of Spanish CH, nor will LL give L in Estella. And I can explain to Martha and Bertha that in Spanish the combination TH does not appear except in names such as theirs but it is nevertheless pronounced as T.

In dealing with the accents later on, last names can be particularly useful to demonstrate how a final letter in a word influences the written accents with examples like Valdés vs. Valdez or Gonzales vs. González, while the sound remains the same.

The vowels are studied next, individually, carefully, because the recognition of their sounds is very important in order to avoid mistaking Spanish and English sounds as in E for I. Also, the study

of the diphthongs which follows becomes easier if the sounds of the individual vowels have been identified.

I have found the time devoted to the study of diphthongs well worth its while not only because of their relationship to accents and separation of syllables, but also because many students cannot hear clearly which one of the two vowels comes first in a diphthong and will often write viente for veinte, trienta for treinta or cuidad for ciudad.

In practicing the diphthongs, I feel that it does not work too well to use them in isolation because even if the student begins to identify them he cannot transfer that knowledge when they appear within a word. I use at the beginning very short and simple words like pie, fue and then move on to examples of words where I know that metathesis frequently occurs as in niervos, luenga, estuata or where the diphthong tends to disappear like in pacencia, obedencia, concencia or in cases where the opposite is found as in diferiencia, dijieron, piensaron where a diphthong has been added. For these examples, of course, either the student is helped with the spelling of the rest of the word or the decision is made to disregard it except for the spelling of the diphthongs themselves.

There are many words involving a diphthong in the spoken form that appear with two strong vowels in the standard writing. The student often cannot recognize words like toalla, zanahoria, leōn, almohada although he is certainly familiar with them in the spoken language. Words such as these need to be brought up to the attention of the student.

The consonants are also studied one by one in order to explain to the student what are some of the common spelling problems involving each consonant. Occasionally consonants do have to be treated in pairs because of confusion of sounds. Possibly because of the interference of English B for example, a student will sometimes write P for B and vice-versa as in puscō, ponito, sabato, tiembo. In other instances he will write J or Y and ojo appears when what he wants to write is hoyo. A similar confusion is that of B for G in abuja, abujero or bujero, or of telling apart intervocalic D from R. For the latter problem I use listening and pronunciation exercises involving minimal pairs, identical except for the letters in question here such as lodo, loro; cada, cara; todo, toro; codo, coro; or judo, juro. The student practices pronouncing them first, then is asked to

identify which of the two is the one I pronounce.

Some consonants will obviously require more attention than others. The letter G is perhaps the most difficult one to handle because of the different sounds produced according to the vowel that follows. Not only can it be confused with B as shown earlier, but it can show up as a replacement for H having gone first through the J route in the writer's mind; for example, gayar < jallar < hallar.

The main point to stress in dealing with G is that the trouble-makers are the E and the I, but the other three vowels are often also involved in problems of spelling as was shown with hallar or in cases where dieresis is used with antigüo, agüacero. The teacher must include, therefore, in the exercises for the uses of G not only words involving E and I but also the other vowels as well.

Second in degree of difficulty is the problem of writing the sound K with the appropriate symbol. It is apparently hard to grasp that Spanish as opposed to English uses QU only with E and I so that anticuado must be written with C, and that quento will not give kuento since the U with Q is always silent. Words involving the sounds QUE. QUI vs. CUE, CUI are helpful particularly when the letter U in QUE, QUI appears crossed out as an indication of its being silent. I deliberately avoid including words with the sounds CUA, CUO in connection with exercises for the QU in order to show that we should not even consider that possibility. Of course that does not mean that quando, quanto do not appear frequently because they often do. Learning to spell is indeed a long and difficult process.

If one tries to give specific spelling rules for Standard Spanish, one runs into the following problems:

1. Rules that refer to the etymology of the words are useless in this course.

2. Rules requiring previous knowledge of grammatical terms, like names of verb tenses, what an adjective is, etc., do not work at this point.

3. Rules requiring the knowledge of relating one word to another do not work well; one cannot say, for example, that all forms of haber will be written with an H if the student cannot yet relate that in "Hubo un pleito en la catina," hubo comes from haber.

4. There are too many words not covered by rules.

Only a few rules are *applicable to the learning situation in* which the student finds himself during the first semester of Spanish for Spanish-speaking students. If they are fairly general like "all words ending with the sounds JE will write that syllable with a J," then the student can memorize them and apply them well. Another possible way of handling some spelling problems is to concentrate on spelling difficulties that are created by similar words like hoyo vs. oyó or ay vs. ahí and present them in parallel columns under the headings con hache and sin hache. The same can apply to con B vs. con V, etc. These lists should include whole phrases such as va a haber vs. va a ver which I feel are learned best in terms of their English meanings so that when the student is talking about to see, for instance, he will use the form a ver and when he means to be, he will use haber. Sometimes one can give hints that relate directly to the English equivalent like sewing with an S in English, the coser in Spanish with an S; or if cooking is written with a C, then cocer is with a C, etc.

While going over the consonants I think that it must be brought up to the attention of the student that it is the general tendency of the native speaker to avoid difficult sounds in a word, and that he often resolves this problem by either eliminating letters altogether, or by replacing them with others, or by switching them to a different place within the word. The importance of this observation is to make the student realize that some elements in his dialect that had previously labeled "bad," appear in the popular language of other Spanish-speaking countries. It is probably unnecessary at this point in his studies to explain to the student in linguistic terms what is happening in each case. Perhaps for the moment it suffices him to know that he is not alone if he drops the final D in verdá, usté or says jediondo and se juyeron or writes fueves for jueves, or looses the LL in botea, semía.

There are many exercises that can be invented to help the student practice his spelling as often as possible. Reading, of course, is a very good aid since then the student is reinforcing what he knows by seeing the printed word. Dictation can be related to the reading if the words or phrases involved are based on the class discussion of the stories read; otherwise the teacher might hit on words that went completely unnoticed by the student when he read the story.

The rest of the semester is devoted to separation of syllables, accents, uses of capital letters, punctuation signs and nouns and adjectives where I stress gender and number and the different types of nouns. I begin to work more on the acquisition of vocabulary when we get into nouns and adjectives and I try to make the student realize the large number of words he already knows and uses with great accuracy. I use as much as possible exercises that elicit from the student an answer reflecting what he already knows such as synonyms or antonyms. We also work with prefixes and suffixes and compound words to reinforce and expand his knowledge.

Perhaps the best way to conclude would be to emphasize that the teacher of the Spanish-speaking student should be wary of making assumptions. For example:

1. Do not assume that teaching the bi-lingual student is going to be a clear-cut case of informal language versus standard; that is, that his speech is the informal and the teacher's is the standard. Most students have a very good command of of the standard language, better than they themselves realize.

2. Do not assume that the student's knowledge of the spoken language, be it informal or standard, can be transferred to his reading or his writing. Some students, as I have mentioned throughout this paper, cannot recognize or write a word they use regularly in speaking.

3. Do not assume that because the student does not appear to recognize the word the teacher uses that his own vocabulary lacks an equivalent for it. With encouragement the student will often come forth with a synonym of standard acceptance as accurate for the same situation as the teacher's.

4. Do not assume you are going to teach the student a lot because you will not. The interference of the student's own dialect is strong and his opportunities to use standard forms while he is still learning with you are few. But if he can be made to feel that his dialect is all right and that furthermore learning a second dialect of his own native tongue is only a step away, then a lot has been accomplished.

TEACHING SPANISH TO SPANISH SPEAKERS: SOME CONSIDERATIONS FOR THE PREPARATION OF TEACHERS

by

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Teaching Spanish to Spanish speakers addresses itself to a pressing need of a large segment of our population and has brought to the fore many concerns of educators, in general, and foreign language teachers, in particular. It is, at the national level, such a recent trend in education that a consensus has yet to be reached as to its goals, methods, and, perhaps even more important, its implications for our educational system and for those individuals who are most intimately involved in its implementation, the students. Several goals and philosophies have been advanced by language experts, ranging from those which represent the purist view of language to those which accept the non-standard dialect as the only valid form to be taught in these programs. The former usually results in programs designed to eradicate the dialect or, at the very least, to transform the dialect speaker into a speaker of standard Spanish as quickly as possible without any attempt to maintain his skills in the dialect. Such programs acknowledge the existence of the dialect but do not accord it status. The latter, I believe, encourages and promotes a provincial outlook toward language--a view from which, unfortunately, our country has suffered far too long.

The purist view ignores the value of the non-standard dialect and in doing so relegates it to an inferior position, promoting among dialect speakers feelings of resentment and self-doubt and a negative attitude toward standard Spanish. On the other hand, those who hold that the dialect is the only viable variety of Spanish in such programs fail to see the dialect in relation to the rest of the world, insisting that the non-standard dialect adequately meets the needs of students. They refuse to face the realities of language and its varied social functions.

As in any controversial question, the best solution surely lies somewhere between the extremes. A more moderate stance would incorporate the advantages of each philosophy while doing away with many of their disadvantages. Whatever the philosophy of a particular individual, institution or school system, there is a corpus of information and skills which everyone teaching Spanish to Spanish speakers must internalize in order to be effective. This paper will suggest some areas in which teachers should develop expertise.

Although the suggestions outlined in this paper could be incorporated into a methods course, other alternatives for including them in a teacher preparation program are possible. The areas discussed

here are merely those which will give the teachers the necessary background to teach Spanish to Spanish speakers.

I. Orientation on Language and Language Varieties

Essential to the success of a language program is the teacher's attitude toward language. It is assumed that a language teacher has a certain affinity for the language he teaches, but often this is not enough for he needs to have respect for languages in general and must be aware of their many functions in society in order to convey to his students the wonder and greatness of this uniquely human phenomenon. One's needs, aspirations and sentiments--indeed, his culture--are expressed through language in a multiplicity of situations. Each situation requires a specific style of language usage, making it necessary for the individual to be able to use several registers of communication. If the teacher can get this concept across to his students, he need not demand from them a particular style of language, but rather he is free to expose them to a number of language varieties enabling them to choose the appropriate register for any given situation. Just as the native speaker chooses from a large repertoire of language constructions in the course of daily interaction with people, the student can choose between the dialect and standard Spanish according to his need.

The question of standard versus non-standard Spanish is a very important one and should not be skirted. The speaker of the non-standard dialect learning standard Spanish must be made aware of the prestige the standard dialect enjoys and must be cognizant of the advantages of being able to function in it. At the same time, he must also realize that the non-standard dialect is a valid means of communication which should not be downgraded in any way.

Since the majority of Spanish teachers in this country have been exposed only to standard Spanish in their formal study of the language, it is logical that most of them view this dialect as the only 'real' Spanish. Many are only vaguely aware, if at all, that there are many dialects in the Spanish-speaking world. The dialectal differences are mainly in the lexicon, intonation and rhythm while phonological, morphological and syntactical differences are minimal. This is also true of the Spanish dialects spoken in the United States even though one finds in these dialects a large number of anglicisms or loans from English.

In order to better prepare teachers of Spanish, especially those who will be teaching Spanish speakers, teacher preparation programs should require Spanish majors to take a course on Spanish dialectology ar at least one in which dialectal variants of the language are studied. At the University of Colorado, a course which has proven to be both popular and relevant is one entitled, "Spanish in a Multilingual Society." Students in the course, many of them Chicanos, are exposed to dialectal variants of Spanish in this country as well as those in Mexico and other Spanish-speaking countries. Some students who before expressed an elitist view of standard Spanish may not have changed their attitude completely, but at least they are now aware that the Southwestern dialect is indeed Spanish and has much in common with other Spanish dialects in the world.

II. Knowledge of the Dialect

Ideally, language teachers should know the native language of their students in order to recognize the similarities and differences between the two languages and therefore be aware of the difficulties they may encounter. Armed with this knowledge, the teacher can better plan learning activities which will aid the students in mastering the target language. Does this mean, then, that only bi-dialectal teachers can teach Spanish speakers? A similar question was asked at the Fourth Annual Consortium of the American Federation of Teachers (Chicago, April 24-27, 1975) regarding teachers in bilingual programs. Discussion of whether teachers should be of the same ethnic background as their students resulted in the general consensus that "the primary need was for empathetic bilingual teachers of whatever ethnic origins."[1] This, I believe, is also true in the teaching of Spanish to Spanish speakers.

If a teacher does not know the dialect of his Spanish-speaking students, what can he do? How can he acquire this knowledge which will help him be more effective in carrying out his responsibilities? The obvious solution is for him to formally study the dialect at an institution of higher learning. If this is not possible--universities do not usually recognize local dialects--he may wish to consult books, articles in professional journals, and other materials currently available. There are several books which at least partially describe the Spanish of the American Southwest.[2] Although some texts list dialectal constructions in sections labelled 'No se dice,' one can glean from them useful information about the dialect for indeed

these very constructions sí se dicen. Studies on the Spanish of particular regions of the Southwest are also good sources since the differences between local dialects are not great.[4] Perhaps the best source are the students themselves. They represent an opportunity for the teacher who is not bi-dialectal to learn from his students and to establish a close, cooperative atmosphere in his classroom.

III. Awareness of Problems Faced by Spanish Speakers Studying Spanish

Another area in which teachers must have some expertise is that of diagnosing problems involved in learning the standard dialect. Some of the problems are attitudinal while others are linguistic in nature. The similarity of the two dialects (standard and non-standard) is at the same time a boon and a drawback for Spanish speakers. On the one hand, the Spanish-speaking student reasons that he need not study very much since he already speaks the language. Unless he is presented with clearly defined goals and objectives, and is made to understand that learning standard Spanish may not be as easy as he thinks, he may well decide that all he really needs is the exposure he gets in the classroom. On the other hand, since the two dialects are so similar, the student may find it very difficult to keep the two separate, even if he is a serious student. In some ways it is more difficult to learn a language similar to one's native tongue than to learn one not at all related. In the case of the dialect speaker learning standard Spanish, the boundaries are not easily discerned and the chances of making an inappropriate choice are great.

Another problem, almost the opposite of the one discussed above, is the negative attitude on the part of some Spanish speakers who all too often want to learn 'good' Spanish and consciously disregard any language skills they may already possess. These students often use constructions, especially in written work, which they would never use in normal conversation. They do so because of the false assumption that since their Spanish is poor, anything that sounds strange must be correct. This denial of the value of the non-standard dialect (which is also a fault of many teachers) prevents them from mastering the standard dialect and often their progress is slower than that of Anglo students studying Spanish. Teachers must be aware of this attitude and must do whatever is necessary to encourage their students to take advantage of the resources they possess by already speaking a dialect of the language.

The writing system of Spanish is problematic for Anglo and

Spanish-speaking students alike. We commonly hear teachers say that writing Spanish is easy because with few exceptions, the writing system is uniform, each sound (phoneme) having only one symbol. While this is true, the speaker of standard Spanish still has to learn the difference between echa and hecha, haber and a ver, consejo and concejo, and many other words or combination of words where the sound is the same but the spelling varies according to context. True, compared to the English writing system, this problem may be considered almost non-existent in Spanish, but the teacher of Spanish must take it into account nonetheless. The problem is more acute for the speaker of the non-standard dialect, for the writing system of Spanish has not made allowances for his special type of Spanish. Even as I tell my students that I do not really care which dialect they use in certain classroom activities so long as they can write whatever they say, I am fully aware that they will make spelling errors, most of which are quite predictable. Let us consider the words para and sea. In the dialect, para is rarely used. Usually it is apocopated to form pa as in /pakê/ (¿para quê). Though this is common in many dialects throughout the world, it is always written in the standard form, para. To the speaker of standard Spanish, sea presents no problems since he knows it is a form of the verb ser and the vowel sounds are consistent with the writing system. The speaker of the non-standard dialect, however, may write the same word as +sella or +seya to be consistent with his pronunciation. Although it is incorrect spelling, the teacher may want to give credit for appropriate transcription for it does show a certain mastery of the sound-symbol correspondence.

Other phonological differences between the standard and non-standard dialects which will cause problems in writing are:

1. Changes of stress as in maíz versus +maiz
2. Changes of phonemes as in bueno versus +güeno
3. Pronunciation of the h in certain words such as hallar versus +jallar, and
4. The aspiration of /s/ in some dialects.

In addition, because the formal education of Chicano students has been in English, many of the writing problems of Anglo students such as the use of th for d and d for r will be common in the writing of dialect speakers.

As mentioned above, morphological differences between the standard and non-standard dialects are minimal. They are significant

enough, however, to make it necessary for teachers of Spanish speakers to know what they are. The non-standard dialect exhibits a tendency to regularize forms such as the first person plural of the present tense in verbs of the third conjugation. In Southwestern Spanish, 'we live' is commonly given as +vivemos instead of the standard form vivimos which is the preterit form in the non-standard dialect. A teacher not familiar with the dialect of his Spanish-speaking students may be tempted to believe that the students confuse the phoneme /i/ with the English symbol or that they do not know the present tense, when in fact they have transcribed correctly the form of the verb according to dialectal pronunciation. Other morphological differences are:

1. The infrequent use of the conditional (often replaced by the imperfect)
2. The tendency to use the ir a + infinitive construction instead of the future tense, and
3. The frequent use of the indicative when standard Spanish requires the subjunctive.

IV. Techniques Consistent with the Culture

Once the teacher is aware of the problems Spanish speakers have in learning standard Spanish, he must develop techniques appropriate for the classroom. While some techniques for teaching Spanish as a foreign language are applicable, many are not. The approach of utilizing the dialogue in regular language classes will not be effective unless it is considerably modified. In the first place, the dialogues found in current Spanish texts are not relevant to Spanish speakers culturally or linguistically. Teachers must be able to adapt these materials to the level and needs of Spanish-speaking students or must make use of other materials, even if this means developing their own. Clearly a knowledge of the culture will make this task easier. Courses on the culture and history of the Southwest would give teachers this important background.

Teaching Spanish to Spanish speakers also requires a sound preparation in techniques of teaching reading and writing since these are the areas in which Spanish speakers most need to develop their language skills. Unfortunately, these skills are not well-developed in English, according to some nationwide studies, thus making this task even more challenging.

Because students in these programs already speak Spanish, the teacher must be more skillful than usual in directing conversation activities in the classroom. At the beginning it may well be a matter of encouraging students to express themselves, but very quickly the conversational aspect of the course should have specific objectives. If these students are permitted to use only the non-standard dialect, they will not receive optimal benefit from the course. It will be merely a demonstration of language skills and vocabulary they already possess. It is the responsibility of the teacher to insure that students make steady progress in their study of the language.

V. Knowledge of Current Theories and Methodology

Teacher preparation programs should expose the prospective teacher to the various philosophies and theories concerning the teaching of Spanish to Spanish speakers. This is important in order to give these individuals some idea of the limitations and goals for this area of language teaching. With this background, they can develop objectives which are obtainable.

The general discussion of the five areas mentioned in this paper is presented as suggested guidelines for the development of teacher preparation programs in the field of teaching Spanish to Spanish speakers. Obviously much more detail is needed for the implementation of such programs. The main point here is that teachers of special language programs need special preparation which is not currently available in our universities and colleges. At a time when our country is becoming more and more aware of the advantages of its multilingual, multi-cultural resources, it is incumbent upon foreign language teachers in particular to do their very best to promote and develop the language skills of those segments of the population in which a language other than English plays a major role. As in any educational endeavor, the teacher is the key. We should not lose sight of this fact as we examine the many facets of teaching Spanish to Spanish speakers.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Hispania (December 1975), p. 939.

[2]Baker, Pauline, Español para los hispanos (Skokie, Illinois: National Textbook Company); Barker, Marie Esman, Español para el bilingüe (Skokie, Illinois: National Textbook Company); Spanish for Spanish-Speaking Students, 1970 (New York City: Bureau of Curriculum Development); Galván, Roberto A. and Richard V. Teschner, 1975, El diccionario del español de Tejas / The Dictionary of the Spanish Texas (Silver Springs, Maryland: Institute of Modern Languages).

[3]For a very useful critical bibliography see Spanish and English of United States Hispanos: A Critical, Annotated, Linguistic Bibliography by Richard V. Teschner, Garland D. Bills and Jerry R. Craddock, 1975 (The Center for Applied Linguistics). For a general view of the Spanish of Colorado see L. Ronald Ross, "La lengua castellana en San Luis, Colorado," unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Colorado, 1975.

TEACHING GRAMMATICAL ANALYSIS TO CHICANO STUDENTS

by

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The Chicano students at the University of Colorado who have taken my senior course in the structure of Spanish come with a variety of experiences. They usually have an excellent receptive knowledge of Spanish, although they may range from Spanish dominant to English dominant bilinguals. The last time I taught the course in the enrollment of 21 students, there were 10 Chicanos, 2 students born and reared in Latin America, and 9 English dominant students. Of the nine English dominant individuals, one also spoke Chinese. Although some of the Chicanos were English dominant, I have included them among the 10 Chicanos since this group usually has at least a receptive knowledge of Spanish. Virtually all of the course is taught in Spanish and there is a great deal of discussion in this language. English is used occasionally but to a very minor extent. Among the Chicano students, there is a range in ability to do grammatical analysis from slightly below average to excellent. In this particular class, only one Chicano student had a slightly below average ability in grammatical analysis while another undergraduate Chicano demonstrated a facile and excellent ability in this area. The group of Chicano students also included a gentleman in his early forties and a lady in her middle forties. The group of Chicanos ranged from a few students with a marginal interest who attended irregularly to very studious students whose work went beyond the scope of the course. One of the Chicanos was a graduate student studying Spanish as a minor. The type of Spanish spoken by the group ranged from standard Spanish to regional Spanish. Many were coordinate bilinguals who commanded both English and Spanish as native speakers. Frequently these coordinate bilinguals did not have the vaguest notion of grammatical analysis. Other Chicano students in this course were English dominant individuals who had learned a substantial amount of Spanish. The latter group had some notions of grammatical analysis ranging from very rudimentary concepts to a working knowledge of grammatical analysis.

I will develop the thesis in this paper that formal grammatical analysis should be presented to Chicano students not only as a valid part of their language experience in the schools but as a tool for leading them into the study of mathematics, science and logic. I will not address myself to the details of when to begin to introduce grammatical notions nor when they should be given great emphasis. Nevertheless, I believe that the presentation of gramatical analysis could easily parallel, year by year, the presentation of arithmetic

and mathematics at all levels of elementary, junior high and high school.

The system of grammatical analysis which I teach in this course is based on a simplified transformational-generative model selecting a number of details from Hadlich's A Transformational Grammar of Spanish. I do not, however, assign this as a required textbook since the students could easily become apprehensive at the quasi-mathematical or quasi-symbolic presentation of this grammar. I assign Ramsey's A Textbook of Modern Spanish as the required textbook since it contains a wealth of grammatical detail with excellent translations of each sentence. Although Ramsey's textbook lacks a modern presentation of the overall structure of the language, it nevertheless can serve as an excellent reference for specific points of grammar during and after the end of the course.

There are certain advantages which can be derived from such a course. These include:

1. It presents the students with a system of analysis.
2. It presents the notion of assumptions and the consequences of establishing such assumptions.
3. It requires the students to work within the limits established for a method of analysis.
4. The students learn to perceive grammatical structures which are not readily apparent in the spoken or written sentence.
5. It presents a logical and interrelated system of grammatical rules which is intellectually satisfying and not frustrating.
6. It provides Spanish speakers totally ignorant of grammatical analysis a method for analyzing and thus identifying grammatical structures.
7. It provides a model for disciplined reasoning.
8. Students who have a vague understanding of grammatical terms develop a deeper and more precise notion of these terms.
9. Students gain confidence by direct participation in the use of an apparently difficult grammatical method.
10. Finally, a knowledge of formal grammatical analysis can be

applied directly to Spanish writing and composition.

These ten advantages, I believe, are sufficient justification for including grammatical analysis as part of a program for developing the various skills of Spanish speakers.

In traditional grammar classes there have typically been few clear statements on the assumptions underlying the system of analysis. One of the advantages of the simplified generative model is that it states explicitly the assumptions upon which the method is based. Three assumptions which have to be reinforced time and time again during the course are:

1. that the declarative sentence is fundamental to the method;
2. that each declarative sentence contains a noun phrase as subject and a verb phrase as predicate; and
3. that a noun phrase and a verb phrase are each in turn made up of other constituents; and a fourth assumption,
4. that any sentence can be analyzed by comparing it to the declarative sentence or can be shown to be a part of such a sentence.

When one stops to consider that even the best of students usually do not have a clear understanding of the declarative sentence as a grammatical concept, he realizes the necessity of emphasizing again and again the importance of the first assumption.

The frustration of students in traditional classes of grammar probably orginates in the number of grammatical details presented as isolated examples without presenting them as parts of an overall framework. Such a theoretical framework can serve to relate the mass of details by showing how each of the grammatical constituents fits into the total structure of the language. A simplified transformational-generative grammar can serve such a purpose. The four major components of Spanish grammar mentioned by Hadlich are:

1. the phrase structure component;
2. the transformational component;
3. the morphophonemic component; and
4. the semantic component.

The greatest emphasis in the course is placed on the phrase structure and transformational components. A few examples are given illustrating the type of rules typical of the morphophonemic component but

this part is not developed. There is simply not enough time available to deal with the semantic component. In spite of these limitations, the students develop the notion that each linguistic phenomenon has a place within one of these components. The constraints established for this simplified grammar including the assumptions and four components just mentioned display aspects similar to those used in mathematical or scientific reasoning. In this sense, the grammar presented provides a model for disciplined reasoning.

Currently we have a dearth of Chicano students and professionals in mathematics, in the physical sciences and in the natural sciences. Undoubtedly this is due to a serious lack in the educational system. The confidence developed in the direct participation and use of this grammatical method, which appears formidable at the beginning, can be transferred directly to the study of mathematics and the sciences. Applicable not only to the fields just mentioned, a knowledge of formal grammatical analysis can also be applied directly to Spanish writing and composition. Some stylistic techniques such as the use of parallelisms can easily be explained by writing on the board the grammatical constituents which underlie the sentence. Balanced grammatical structures surrounding the conjunction "y" (and) can be illustrated by pointing out the grammatical constituents on each side of this conjunction. In brief, the implications and applicatons of such a course go beyond the strict limits of basic language study.

The fourteen weeks of the semester are divided into five parts. The first part is covered in four weeks. It includes a thorough presentation of the noun phrase. Articles, nouns, gender, number, functions of noun phrase, adjectives, and demonstratives are all presented in this period. In the second part, which is covered in two weeks, the verb phrase becomes the focus of interest. The AUX rule including tense, aspect, modal verb, past participle, present participle, infinitive, and the auxiliary verbs are presented in these two weeks. The other major constituent of the verb phrase, labeled as verb, is also presented. Students have to be told explicitely that AUX refers to all of the verbal constituents of the verb phrase except the important semantic verb. This is not an easy concept to establish, but it can be done by intermixing explanations with substantial examples. The third part of the course, presented in three weeks, pulls together the preceding material into an explanation and examination of the declarative sentence. Having an understanding of the noun phrase and verb phrase, the student is now ready to study the

PART IV

EVALUATION

ENHANCING SPANISH BILINGUALISM THROUGH AN EDUCATIONAL COGNITIVE STYLE METHODOLOGY

by

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I. The Challenge of Spanish Bilingualism

Fallis (1975, pp. 54-55) observes that schools in the Southwest have recently begun to separate pupils who are already fluent in Spanish from those who are starting their study of that language for the first time. Despite this innovation, she notes that:

> ....while the students are no longer forced to re-learn their Spanish by repeating simple dialogues and conjugated verbs, they are still subjected to the same negative prejudices and value judgments concerning their dialect.

How often have I encountered a similar negative attitude expressed in such statements as, "they speak a sort of 'Spanglish';" "those Puerto Ricans don't speak like other Spanish people do;" or "they swallow the endings of their words." In the majority of cases, these statements are accompanied with negative, non-verbal gestures.

Olstad (1973, p. 55) points out that the problem confronting the foreign language specialist and educationist is not linguistic but rather attitudinal. The problem, in other words, lies not in the language of the speaker but in the mind of the listener. Olstad believes that a solution to this complex problem will not occur unless the educational profession acquires "an attitude of open-minded respect for the local colloquial" (p. 56) that is personal and academic.

Another aspect of this problem is pragmatic. Foreign language teachers, bilingual teachers and curriculum developers need precise methodologies if they are to be successful in enhancing Spanish bilingualism among their Spanish students. For example, teachers must become aware of the special educational needs of the Spanish-speaking pupil and these needs must be precisely defined. Moreover, individual styles of learning must be taken into account among the Spanish-speaking, thereby enabling one to recognize that there is not one but many different kinds of "good language learners" (Rubin, 1975, p. 49). Some students are more comfortable if they have something written in front of them; some learn better by auditory means. Finally, Garcia (1975, p. 4) cautions that the teacher's expectations be realistic lest they be in conflict with the student's abilities.

In view of these statements, my paper will:

1. Outline an innovative methodology identified as "educational cognitive style" analysis; and

2. Illustrate its application in teaching Spanish to the Spanish-speaking student.

In this manner, I hope to contribute towards the enhancement of Spanish bilingualism and overcoming negative prejudices and value judgments that are evident among the educational profession. The reader is encouraged to refer to the reference list for a more exhaustive treatment of the methodology to be outlined in this paper.

II. Educational Cognitive Style Methodology

"Educational cognitive style" methodology refers to those rules, procedures and concepts pertaining to the Educational Sciences. Hill (1964, 1968, 1973, 1975) states that the Educational Sciences provide a "conceptual and scientific language for the applied field of education," thereby making possible the articulation of phenomena and problems related to education. As formulated by Hill and his associates (Berry and Sutton, 1973), there are seven Educational Sciences. Each "science" includes its own factual descriptions, concepts, and principles. These sciences are:

1. Symbols and their meanings;
2. Cultural determinants of the meanings of symbols;
3. Modalities of inference;
4. Educational memory;
5. Cognitive styles of individuals;
6. Student styles, teaching styles, administrative styles, counseling styles; and
7. Systemic analysis decision-making.

These seven sciences are continually being investigated and employed in bringing precision to the resolution of educational problems including those of special concern to bilingual education and foreign language teaching (Baecher, 1973, 1975; Ort, 1971).

"Educational cognitive style" refers to how an individual seeks meaning. More precisely, it means those differential abilities and characteristics of the individual in his/her search for meaning including English and Spanish symbolic orientations, the cultural influences that have an impact upon the individual's social perceptions, and the reasoning patterns employed by the individual in reaching a decision. Educational cognitive style methodology can be best illustrated by teachers seeking answers to such questions as:

1. How does the Spanish-speaking individual take note of his surroundings?
2. What symbols does the individual prefer to use in relating to the world around him/her?
3. Is the Spanish-speaking student predominantly a "listener" or a "reader" for information?
4. To what extent is the individual capable and comfortable in his/her dominant language for understanding concepts?
5. In what way does the Spanish-speaking pupil seek consensus with his/her peers, make up his/her own mind, or rely upon the judgments of the members of one's family?
6. Does the individual tend to reason in categories like the mathematician, in contrasts like the artist, or in relationships as a social scientist might.

These are only a few of the important questions that one might ask in observing how the Spanish-speaking student tends to seek meaning, or his/her "educational cognitive style." Answers to these questions are used to produce a cognitive style "map" for each student.

III. Cognitive Style Mapping

Using the principles and concepts associated with cognitive style "mapping" (Baecher, 1973, pp. 77-79; Radike, 1973, pp. 16-18), teachers of Spanish-speaking pupils can determine which ones can learn well from audio or programmed instruction or group work, for example. A student's cognitive style map identifies the unique ways, or elements, in which that pupil can master an educational task most readily.

Cognitive mapping means attempting to find out the strengths of an individual that can be utilized in enhancing his/her Spanish communication skills. It involves discovering ways to observe, listen to, and elicit cognitive style elements. The use of standardized instruments, various observational techniques and interviews are some methods that can be employed in the process of mapping. Three principle areas comprise the individual's map and are explored by the teacher through continuous questioning and observations.

The first area of exploration is entitled Symbols and Their Meanings. The teacher, trained in behavioral descriptions, looks

for indicators, i.e., overt behaviors, of the Spanish-speaking pupil's use of symbols. The teacher may discover that the student is more successful in listening tasks employing his/her native language; the pupil prefers oral directions to visual ones. Such a student may be one "who can understand spoken Spanish and can communicate in the language well beyond simply making himself understood" (Fallis, 1975, p. 55). Additionally, the teacher's attention may be drawn to the fact that the Spanish-speaking pupil looks for picture clues along with the written words. Furthermore, the observant instructor may note how readily the student senses what others feel, how well he/she can follow the form of things, and even the ability to "read" another's non-verbal communication. These elements, or symbols, provide clues to this student's strengths (See Appendix A, "Explaining the Educational Cognitive Style Map").

As the individual interprets symbols, his/her perceptions influence and are influenced by his/her culture. Cultural Determinants, the second area of exploration, can guide the language teacher in finding out the degree of influence that social groups exercise upon the perceptions of the Spanish-speaking student. The major cultural influences are one's family, associates, or individuality. These influences enable the teacher to decide if the pupil needs small group language activity, special assistance from the teacher or aide on a one-to-one basis, or to work independently on programmed material. Cultural determinants, therefore, offer the sensitive teacher an effective means to understand the pupil's world of human relationships.

The third area, Modalities of Inference, refers to the processes employed by the pupil in reaching decisions. The Spanish-speaking student who is receiving messages of words, pictures, sounds, is engaged in the process or sorting, testing and synthesizing before such messages are internalized. The teacher may observe that some students are quick to classify the accents of words by following clearly stated and definite rules. Some pupils may be observed to use differences in their reasoning patterns; they are prone to ask for the exceptions to the rule in developing language skills. Still others may look for a multiple relationship in what they perceive; they can readily combine a rule with new vocabulary in a given context.

These three dimensions, then, constitute the educational cognitive style of the Spanish-speaking student. They indicate the variety

of profiles such pupils employ in achieving success at educational tasks. The common language that describes these three areas in mapping takes the form of a visual shorthand.

For example, bilingual student number one (Figure 1), a fourth grader reading below grade level in Spanish and above grade level in English, is a proficient listener. The numbers above each set of symbols, T(AL)-T(VL), indicate the present level of educational development in listening, T(AL), and reading, T(VL). This level is expressed in terms of composite grade levels involving measured abilities in vocabulary, language usage, reading and listening comprehension in Spanish and English (Baecher, 1973, pp. 64-73). The subscripts e and s refer to the English and Spanish forms of instruments used to determine the symbolic orientation of this Spanish student. Moreover, this pupil manifests above average ability to perceive sounds such as tones, pitch and accents, as shown by the element, Q(A); a moderate sensitivity to the feeling of others, Q(CEM), and the ability to work diligently at an assigned task, Q(CET), are additional strengths. This pupil is primarily an independent thinker, (I), and reaches conclusions through a form of categorical thinking, (M), and relationships, (R).

Bilingual pupil number two, a fourth grader reading below grade level in English and Spanish, is a listener. His profile-map shows that he receives clues to meaning from things that he perceives through sight, e.g., pictures, films, visuals, Q(V). About average in empathy and dedication, he is influenced by his family and peers, as shown by the (F) and (A) on the map. His tendency is to reason in terms of relationships, (R) (see Figure 2).

Each map, like each student, is different, and thereby requires a personalized educational program. Each map indicates "strengths" and can be augmented. Missing strengths can be built on a pupil's existing ones. From this map the teacher can formulate an educational prescription, i.e., develop a personalized educational program to fit the style of the student.

IV. Educational Prescriptions

To promote the educational success of bilingual student number one, a teacher might take these steps in formulating an educational prescription:

Example: The teacher has recorded these elements for the

Present Grade: 4th	Sex: F	Age: 10 yrs. 3 mos.	Ethnic Origin: Mexican-American

I. Symbols and Their Meanings		II. Cultural Determinants		III. Modalities of Inference	
$T(AL)_e^7$	$T'(VL)_e^5$				
$T(AL)_s^7$	$T'(VL)_s^2$				
Q(A)		I		M	R
Q(CET)		F'		D'	D'
Q'(CEM)					

In narrative form, the "map-profile" would read as follows:

·Processes information better through listening than through reading printed materials, in both English and Spanish; above average in listening....				
·Above average in reading written material in English..		·Acts independently; makes up own mind; likes to define things		·Synthesizes features of things, events; likes to learn from numerous examples in accomplishing educational tasks;
·Highly developed sense of hearing, e.g., tones, differences in sounds, intonations.....	x		x	
·Works diligently at educational assignments		·Will take directions from authority figures; relates home and family experiences often		Classifies things according to rules, categories, definitions.....

Reading Grade (English): 5.3
Reading Grade (Spanish): 2.5

Figure 1. Bilingual Student Number One (Adapted from Baecher, 1973, p. 161)

Present Grade: 4th	Sex: M	Age: 11 yrs. 7 mos.	Ethnic Origin: Mexican American

I. Symbols and Their Meanings		II. Cultural Determinants		III. Modalities of Inference
$T(AL)_e^4$	$T'(VL)_e^2$			
$T(AL)_s^4$	$T'(VL)_s^2$			
Q(V)		F	A	R
Q'(CET)				M'
Q'(CEM)				

In narrative form, the "map-profile" would look like this:

I. Symbols and Their Meanings		II. Cultural Determinants		III. Modalities of Inference
•Processes information through listening than through reading printed materials, in both English and Spanish..		•Strongly influenced by his peers; likes to work in groups; seeks and follows the suggestions of others.		•Sees relationships among things, events and qualities; sees similarities among patterns and forms... likes to learn through examples and illustrations.
•Enjoys looking at pictures while reading; learns from objects that he sees...	x		x	
•Can dedicate himself to a set of tasks, values; works hard at educational assignments.....		•Looks to authority figures for direction and confidence, prefers to have teachers explain things.....		•Makes statements of facts; sometimes wants rules and definitions for things.....
•Empathizes with others.....				

Reading Grade (English): 5.3
Reading Grade (Spanish): 2.5

Figure 2. Bilingual Student Number Two (Adapted from Baecher, 1973, p. 167)

Spanish-speaking student:

1. Major T(AL) in English at the 7th level of educational development (see Appendix A, "Explaining the Educational Cognitive Style Map")
2. Major T(AL) in Spanish at the 7th level of educational development
3. Major Q(A)
4. Major A(CET)
5. Minor Q(CEM)
6. Major (I) and Minor (F)
7. Major (R) and (M), minor (D)

Suppose the teacher needs to write a prescription to enhance this pupil's reading ability in Spanish. Since this pupil's ability to read in English is above average, every indication is present that the student can acquire ease and confidence in the ability to read Spanish. A realistic goal is that this individual's comprehension of written material closely approximate comprehension of written English (Fallis, 1975, p. 60). The teacher needs to increase the element of reading in Spanish, or augment it, by developing the pupil's vocabulary and concepts in Spanish.

The teacher has culturally relevant materials on records and tapes expressed in Spanish at the 7th grade level, and written materials in Spanish at the 2nd grade level, in order to develop concepts and vocabulary. These materials correspond with the $T(AL)_s$ and $T'(VL)_s$ elements of the map.

The teacher might have the pupil work at reading assignments independently. This method fits the (I) and Q(CET) elements of the map. Another approach is to have the student work under close supervision of the teacher.

The materials will be in Spanish and of a high interest level. These materials should include numerous examples and illustrations out of which the student can synthesize word meanings and concepts. This procedure will match the (R) element in the map. Additionally, the teacher may provide a few short, definite activities that require step-by-step compliance. As the student acquires new concepts and

vocabulary, the teacher will appeal to the student's tendency to formulate rules and definitions. This approach fits the (M) in the map.

In summary, the teacher's prescription would look something like this:

$T(AL)_s$: Tapes, records at the 7th grade level in Spanish
$T(VL)_s$: Written material in Spanish at the 2nd grade level
F: Supervised and guided practice by teacher and educational assistant
I, Q(CEM): Given assignments to be completed alone
R: Materials with numerous examples for synthesis
M: Brief, step-by-step assignments; opportunities to formulate own rules and definitions

This educational prescription fits the category of "personalized education" for the Spanish-speaking student. Similar prescriptions can be drawn up for bilingual pupil number two. In this way educational cognitive style methodology can be effective in enhancing Spanish bilingualism among the Spanish.

V. Conclusion

My paper has described an educational cognitive style methodology that foreign language teachers and bilingual practitioners may find useful in their endeavors to promote bilingualism among their pupils, especially the Spanish-speaking. Some of the basic concepts associated with this methodology were described and a procedure for deriving educational prescriptions was stated. If educators can agree upon some of the basic concepts presented here, and begin to apply them in different instructional settings, then we shall not "waste those who may in fact preserve within the United States the beauty of Spanish" (Fallis, 1975, p. 62).

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APPENDIX A

Explaining the Educational Cognitive Style Map

Numerous different elements are included on one's educational cognitive style map. Each element is recorded as a major, a minor, or a negligible score.

A Major score means that your score is above average in the element under consideration (50th percentile or above). It is shown as a capital letter, T(VL).

A Minor score means that your score is below average in the element (50th percentile) but above the bottom quarter (25th percentile). It is shown as a capital letter with a prime ('), T'(VL).

A Negligible score means that your score is below the 25th percentile indicating a below minimum preference for using the element in your cognitive style. The element does not appear on the map.

I. Symbols and Their Meanings

T(AL): Theoretical Auditory Linguistic--Ability to acquire meaning through spoken words, talking, listening.

T(AQ): Theoretical Auditory Quantitative--Acquiring meaning in terms of quantities (numbers, measurements) you hear.

T(VL): Theoretical Visual Linguistic--Obtaining meaning from words you see and graphic symbols.

T(VQ): Theoretical Visual Quantitative--Ability to find meaning in terms of written quantities, i.e., numerical symbols and measurements that you see.

Q(A): Qualitative Auditory--Ability to perceive meaning through sense of hearing sounds other than words, e.g., tones, pitch, dialects, etc.

Q(O): Qualitative Olfactory--Perceiving meaning through the sense of smell, e.g., odors, aromas.

Q(S): Qualitative Savory--Deriving meaning through taste.

Q(T): Qualitative Tactile--Ability to gain meaning by the sense of touch, e.g., textures, etc.

Q(V): Qualitative Visual--Perceiving meaning through seeing things other than T(VL), e.g., pictures, scenes, etc.

Q(P): Qualitative Proprioceptive--Ability to integrate a number of symbolic mediations into a performance of a complex task, e.g., typewriting, playing a musical instrument; or an immediate awareness of a possible set of inter-relationships between symbolic mediations, i.e., dealing with "signs".

Q(CEM): Qualitative Code Empathetic--Sensitivity to another's feelings, ability to put one's self in another person's position.

Q(CES): Qualitative Code Esthetic--Ability to appreciate beauty of an object or an idea, e.g., in music, art, nature; well-tuned phrase.

Q(CET): Qualitative Code Ethic--Dedication to a specific value system, a group of moral principles, obligations and/or duties.

Q(CH): Qualitative Code Histrionic--Ability to deliberately stage behavior to produce some particular effect on other persons, e.g., good actor.

Q(CK): Qualitative Code Kinesic--Communicating by non-linguistic functions such as facial expressions and body movements, e.g., smiles and gestures.

Q(CKH): Qualitative Code Kinesthetics--Motor skills, muscular coordination with correct form, e.g., sports or tasks where skillful use of hands is involved.

Q(CP): Qualitative Code Proxemics--Ability to behave with the appropriate physical and social distance as defined by the other person.

Q(CS): Qualitative Code Synnoetics--Personal knowledge of oneself objectively in qualitative and theoretical forms in relation to one's environment, e.g., setting realistic goals.

Q(CT): Qualitative Code Transactional--Ability to communicate with others in a way that significantly influences their goals, e.g., salesmanship.

Q(CTM): Qualitative Code Temporal--Ability to respond according to time expectations imposed on an activity by members in the role-set associated with that activity, e.g., timed tests, language drills, etc.

II. Cultural Determinants

A: Associates--Interpreting symbolic information predominantly as one's associates or peers do.

F: Family--Interpreting symbolic data predominantly in ways which have been learned from one's family.

I: Individual--Interpreting symbolic information predominantly from one's own perspective independently arrived at.

III. Modalities of Inference

M: Magnitude--Inductive reasoning process that utilizes norms, rules and definitions to draw conclusions; a form of "categorical thinking."

D: Difference--Inductive reasoning pattern that uses one-to-one contrasts or comparisons of selected characteristics or measurements in reaching a decision.

R: Relationship--Inductive reasoning process that synthesizes a multitude of relationships between two or more characteristics or measurements.

L: Appraisal--Reasoning process that employs all three of the above approaches giving equal weight to each.

K: Circle (K)--Deductive reasoning or logical proof that yields a necessary conclusion derived from given information.

GUIDELINES FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF A SPANISH PLACEMENT EXAMINATION FOR THE SPANISH-DOMINANT SPANISH/ENGLISH BILINGUAL

by

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I. Need

The Spanish-speaking undergraduate is usually offered a Spanish placement examination designed for the monolingual native speaker of English with the result that the wrong skills are tested and the data gathered are inadequate for placement. What is needed is a Spanish placement examination which will test those skills the native speaker has difficulty mastering. This paper discusses which skills should be tested, how to design questions to test those skills, how to arrange those questions to make an examination which will provide adequate data for placement, how to score the examination, and how to use the data gathered to place students.

II. Linguistic Areas to be Tested

A Spanish placement examination for the Spanish-dominant Spanish/English bilingual should measure the speaker's linguistic skills in all areas of Spanish except phonology. It is assumed that the native speaker has an adequate or readily perfectable pronunciation; consequently, the examination should focus on potential problem areas in morphology (grammar), syntax, and semantics (synonomy). In addition, a testing of reading comprehension and composition skills will help to evaluate the bilingual student's ability to understand and handle abstract concepts in Spanish. A reasonably accurate measurement device in these skill areas will help to determine in what kind of Spanish class the undergraduate bilingual student should be placed.

III. Simultaneity of Targets

A placement examination which makes the most effective use of a limited period of time will test several linguistic skills simultaneously wherever possible. Although the reading comprehension questions can include morphology and syntax, the best means of eliciting the greatest amount of data in the shortest period of time is the free composition question. A composition question of several paragraphs written on one of a very limited number of carefully selected topics will indicate the extent of the student's knowledge of morphology and syntax, the kind of vocabulary the student can handle, and the student's ability (or lack of ability) to handle abstract concepts in Spanish. In addition, since an essay properly requires a certain amount of organization, the writing of an essay will give the student an opportunity to demonstrate what organizational ability he or she has. A placement examination which allows such creativity

will provide a more accurate picture of the student's linguistic skills in Spanish than will a passively structured question/answer examination.

IV. Semantics (Synonomy)

A section devoted just to word-meaning is needed to show the quality and the quantity of the student's vocabulary. It is possible to answer reading comprehension questions without knowing the exact meaning of many of the words used. A very good composition can be written with a very small vocabulary. Because neither of these types of questions gives a clear indication of the extent and accuracy of the student's vocabulary, a section devoted just to vocabulary is needed. For example, see the sample questions:

D 1. fingido
A. sentido C. medido
B. encogido D. disimulado
E. ninguno

B 2. rezar
A. rozar C. obrar
B. orar D. hablar
E. ninguno

V. Reading Comprehension

Reading comprehension questions test the student's ability to understand a fairly difficult prose passage and to abstract information from it. The passages should be short and a variety of subjects covered. The questions should be detailed enough to require a very careful reading of the text in order to answer correctly and all of the information needed to answer the questions should be in the reading sections. Each question should be provided with a set of possible answers so that the student is required to come to terms with the question as it is asked. Among the set of possible answers there should be at least one which is similar to the correct answer so that the student must understand exactly both the passage and the question in order to select the best answer. For example, see the sample reading question below:

Ecuador es un estado de la América del Sur, limitado al norte por Colombia, al sur y al este por el Perú, al oeste por el océano Pacífico. Por largo tiempo fue difícil fijar los límites exactos

del país, siendo reivindicado el territorio al este de los Andes a la vez por el Perú, Colombia y el Brasil. En enero de 1942, un convenio con el Perú fijó definitivamente dichos límites.

Dependen del Ecuador las islas Galápagos, a unos 600 km. de la costa occidental. Producen las islas sobre todo guano y orchilla. (Nuevo Pequeño Larousse Ilustrado, 1963. Pag. 1204).

D 1. El Ecuador es limitado al oeste por

A. Colombia C. el Brasil
B. el Perú D. el océano Pacífico
E. ninguno de ellos

B 2. El convenio de enero de 1942 fijó definitivamente

A. el dominio de las islas Galápagos
B. los límites del territorio al este de los Andes
C. los límites del territorio al norte del país
D. los productos de las islas Galápagos
E. ninguno de ellos

VI. Composition

The composition question should stimulate the student to write. The topic should require only general knowledge, otherwise the writer may not know enough about a subject to write on it at length. The choices offered should be selected with the prospective examinees in mind. Undergraduates fresh out of high school could be offered:

1. El alcohol y la marijuana;
2. Como escoger una carrera; or
3. El papel de la universidad en la sociedad contemporánea.

Older women going back to school to finish an interrupted education may have more to say about:

1. La crianza de los niños;
2. La importancia de una educación universitaria;
3. La mujer en la sociedad moderna; or
4. La religión en la sociedad de hoy.

No topic should be mandatory; at least three topics should be offered from which the student may select one to write about. The object is to provide the student with an opportunity to show his or her skills in grammar, sentence structure, vocabulary, organization, and abstract thinking in Spanish; consequently, the longer the composition, the

greater the amount of data available, and the more accurate the placement.

VII. Time Factor

Time is an important factor in testing. Too short an examination period severely restricts the amount of data gathered and the consequent reliability of the results; too long an examination period exhausts the participants and likewise jeopardizes the reliability of the results. Three hours maximum has been found to be long enough to test a broad spectrum of skills and yet not be so long that the participants; performance deteriorates significantly. In addition, the sequence of the examination parts or sections should be arranged so that the material which requires the most intense concentration comes first (vocabulary, reading comprehension) and that which requires the least (composition) is placed at the end of the examination period. The time factor must be an integral part of the design and development of a placement examination if the examination is to be a truly effective measuring device.

VIII. Scoring

The factors to consider in scoring the composition are: verb forms, sequence of tenses, agreement, spelling, sentence structure, punctuation, paragraph structure, and the structure of the composition as a whole. The synonomy and reading comprehension scores will help in the evaluation of those students who have no serious problems in morphology and few problems in syntax. It is highly unlikely that a sophisticated vocabulary will be present in a student who shows serious problems in morphology. The examination taken as a whole will provide a very detailed picture of the student's strengths and weaknesses in Spanish.

IX. Placement

Gross placement should be arranged by:

1. serious problems in morphology
2. serious problems in syntax with minor problems in morphology
3. serious problems in paragraph structure and only minor problems in morphology and syntax.

Divisions (2) and (3) should constitute two separate classes, although it is possible to combine the two into one class if small enrollment requires it. It is desirable to divide (1) into two categories: (a)

problems of spelling verb forms which are otherwise correct, and of tense sequence; and (b) fundamental problems with verb forms and subject verb agreement. It is much easier to teach (a) and (b) students in separate classes. The lines of demarcation between categories and between divisions are somewhat blurred and, in general, borderline students should be placed in the lower category unless there are compelling reasons for placing them in a higher category or division. The classes should be as homogeneous as class size and enrollment numbers permit.

TESTING STANDARD SPANISH AS A SECOND DIALECT

by

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Before choosing appropriate testing procedures for assessing the learning of standard Spanish as a second dialect, we must first consider different attitudes towards its teaching, since these will in turn influence the type of testing instruments used.

There are three different approaches which one can take to teaching standard Spanish as a second dialect (hereafter referred to as SSSD). The first is what one might call the "eradication" approach, in which the teacher tells the students that his native dialect is wrong, vulgar, or degenerate, and that he must forget it and learn to speak correctly. Next, we have the teacher who would simply like the student to learn standard Spanish, for reading, writing and traveling, but who accepts that the fluent non-standard Spanish-speaking student has a tool which is perfectly adequate in its own milieu. We can say that this teacher is using a wholly "second dialect" approach. There is a third approach which, although little used or discussed today, is more suited to the needs of the Mexican American student and choose to call it the "both dialects" approach. With the latter, the teacher will direct his efforts toward continuously reinforcing the home dialect of the fluent student, trying to improve the fluency and versatility of the semi-fluent student in his native dialect, and at the same time, trying to teach him to switch into standard Spanish when the situation calls for it, which he recognizes will not comprise a very large portion of the time. It is through this third approach, and not the second as many leaders in the field erroneously believe, that the teacher is on safe ground, in that he will not be open to the charge that he is degrading the student's native dialect by teaching only the standard one. "Judge them not by what they say, but by what they do."

As one applies these different approaches to the area of testing, a salient factor stands out. Test items will not be based on translation and cues in English, but rather on the non-standard Spanish spoken by the student. To illustrate a point, the eradicator will have the student choose between the correct and incorrect form, (witness numerous drills and test items in Baker's Español para los hispanos[1]), the "second dialect" teacher will have the student change language from non-standard to standard, and the "both dialects" teacher may have the student respond using each form to make sure that he indeed knows both. While in the past teachers have used wholly English-Spanish tests, these people were teaching standard Spanish as if it were a foreign language. Eradicators do not fall into this

class which I call "traditionalists" since they are not teaching Spanish as a foreign language.

In SSSD, as in Spanish as a foreign language, it is helpful when the teacher knows the native language of the student.[2] In this way he can anticipate learning problems, and drill and test for them. If the teacher does not speak Southwestern U.S. Spanish, he may overcome this need by consulting one of the many articles, theses, and monographs which are beginning to appear on the dialect with encouraging frequency.[3] It will also become obvious as the reader continues through this paper that the SSSD teaching profession needs its own contrastive structures series similar to the one for foreign languages published by the University of Chicago Press during the mid- and late-1960's.[4] This series has served as a basic resource for teachers and textbook authors in designing quality classroom drill and tests.

Since the teaching of SSSD is still in its early stages of development, a paucity of classroom materials and techniques exists. Therefore, in this article I shall not belabor the subjects of measurement theory, reliability and validity, grading and scoring, but rather will attempt to enumerate some of the different types of test formats which can be used by the SSSD teacher.[5] It is not intended that each of these formats should occur on a given test, nor that a single one should comprise an entire test. On the contrary, a variety of item types will generally render a better testing instrument than any single one. The teacher is free to choose and use any of these formats, which I offer here only to illustrate the kinds of language learning problems which must be tested and the uniqueness of these problems to the Chicano student.

I. Stress

Suprasegmental dialectal differences can be tested in many ways. For example the standard Spanish (hereafter SS) speaker says oído while the non-standard Spanish (hereafter NSS) speaker says óido. This presents a fine opportunity to utilize a reading test of pronunciation to see if the NSS speaker knows how to pronounce the standard form. The grapheme itself gives no clue to the dialectic difference. Therefore we can ask the student to underline or place an accent over the stressed SS vowel. The following words (diferencia, teléfono) illustrate further this type of item. Each would be written without an accent and the student would mark the stressed vowel. Since the

Colorado speaker says diferencéa and telefón, he would be likely to erroneously transfer this stress to SS, thereby producing diferencía and telefóno.[6]

II. Vocabulary

Southwestern Spanish demonstrates many types of linguistic evolution, which is even more capable of occurring in the United States, since we are not influenced by the standardization effect which education and the mass media have on the Spanish speaker living south of the border. An example of this is disimilation, a process by which similar vowels in a word become disimilar. In the Southwest, people say resuar, not rasurar. One can test knowledge of the difference between the two forms by means of a sound discrimination test of standard vs. non-standard (hereafter SN) variety. That is, we say resurar, and if the student writes N, then we know he is aware that this is a dialectic form. On the other hand, if we give him the word montaña and he writes S, then we know that he is aware that the form he uses is the same form used throughout the Spanish-speaking world. Other words which illustrate this technique are: lechi/leche, nochi/noche, confisión/confesión and licción/lección. Diachronic linguistics, i.e., historical linguistics, does not always offer a clear picture of the linguistic changes which have taken place in Southwestern Spanish, thereby leading to differences of opinion among scholars. Nevertheless, we will still have to test for differences for which we have no sound explanation. Again, the sound discrimination test is useful when the dialectic difference is essentially phonemic. The Colorado Chicano says incontrar while the Mexican say encontrar. While the student would no doubt interpret both words equally in a conversation, if he knows the standard form he will be likely to use it when visiting the land of his ancestors.

Radical changing ir verbs such as decir are regular in Chicano Spanish (disir) due to analogy from the regularly conjugated forms. When testing for knowledge of the SS infinitive, which is the only real problem with the present tense forms, the student may be more likely to err when going from decir to disir than the inverse. With this type of item format, it is quite possible that the student will not recognize which verb the teacher has in mind, and therefore will leave the item blank, even though he is quite capable of producing his native language form. On the other hand, if disir is given as the cue, the student, recognizing its meaning, may also recall the

SS form once the meaning assigned to the word when it was learned is established.[7] Note that this process is inverted with Spanish as a foreign language, where it has long been considered that bilingual vocabulary tests are easier when in the direction of Spanish (foreign language) to English (native language). Other words which can be tested in this manner include midir, pidir and vistir.

Another vocabulary format which students of SSSD will find interesting and challenging involves metathesis, a common phenomenon in Southwestern Spanish, of which the following are but a few examples:

Write the standard Spanish form by rearranging the letters in the words below:

estuata _____	niervo _____
idomia _____	probe _____
incensio _____	estógamo _____

In testing vocabulary there will be innumerable lexical items which in their non-standard form are derived from English. Again a bidialectal item format is the most advantageous. See examples below:

Write the standard Spanish form of the words below:

bonche	(manojo) _____	pinate	(cacahuate) _____
choque	(gis) _____	traque	(riel) _____
espiche	(habla) _____	troque	(camión) _____

While some teachers might give the English word and ask the student to translate, this technique can be unduly misleading to the student. Since his native dialect offers merely a cognate of the English word, this is the one which most immediately will come to his mind. In the same way, false cognates like embarasada continue to cause students of Spanish as a foreign language to consistently recall the wrong word. Moreover, when the Chicano is using his language abroad he will need to switch to the standard Spanish terms, not English ones. Since we want to develop the ability to switch from local to standard, not local to English, the bidialectal test item is more in keeping with our instructional objectives. This is one of the reasons why we have fared so poorly in teaching the Chicano in the past.

Certain typical periphrastic forms which, though admissable, are not normally used in standard Spanish, may also be classified as

vocabulary rather than syntactic problems. In this case we may ask the student:

Rewrite each of the following phrases using a shorter expression:

el rey y la reina	(los reyes)
mi mamá y mi papá	(mis papás)
mi compadre y mi comadre	(mis compadres)
dar una regañada	(regañar)
echar una mordida	(morder)[8]

III. Reading

Several people have affirmed that the NS speaker does not need to do the normal kinds of listening and speaking drills performed in a foreign language class. Generally they point out the utility of advancing the student to reading as soon as possible, followed by conversation using new vocabulary, etc.[9] However, reading alone is fine because it teaches the student standard forms and expressions as well as increasing his vocabulary. This can be followed by objectives true/false and multiple choice tests over what has been read. The important role of reading ability in taking such tests will further reinforce the instructional techniques and goals of the course.

IV. Spelling

This article will not attempt to treat the many conventions for testing spelling at the early stages of writing skill development. Since the NSS student will attempt to spell his language according to the English graphemic system, he will tend to make the same type error made by anglo students, i.e., spelling aquí as "akee", etc. At this stage the standard teaching and testing procedures for anglo students will apply. Once the student has learned Spanish sound-letter equivalences, special testing formats for the NSS will be needed as the student learns to write in standard Spanish. It is here that he will tend to produce a written version of his non-standard form (writing decir as disir), which of course is not a problem with anglo American students. The student will not be ready to write compositions in standard Spanish until the teaching and testing procedures suggested below have been covered.

V. Dictation

When the teacher is training the student to spell in Spanish, a common technique used to determine the effectiveness of instruction

is dictation. Often the student of Spanish as a foreign language will simply transcribe the paragraph being read without completely following its meaning. The Mexican-American student, on the other hand, may understand perfectly what the teacher reads, and because of this might sysnthesize or vocalize it to himself using some of his own dialectal forms. Even though he has learned to assign proper graphemic equivalences to the sounds he has learned, his writing of the words as he pronounces them may give the impression that he has not. For this reason it will be best to postpone full dictation for some time, administering spot dictation (the student fills in only one word at the answer sheet after the entire sentence has been read by the teacher instead.

VI. Morphology

Of course, one of the easiest and quickest ways to test verb forms in context is through a fill-in-the-blank exercise. As a general rule this will suit us also in testing SSSD. There are some other techniques which are also useful and permit us to zero in on error producing elements. For instance, the Colorado Spanish speaker not only regularizes the stress on all forms of the present subjunctive, but converts the morpheme "mos" to "nos" as well. This produces words such as háganos, píntenos, etc. which can be tested by a multiple choice option. "Mamá quiere que (cantamos, cantemos, cántemos, cántenos) una canción." If the teacher wished to test for knowledge of both standard and non-standard forms, he have the student circle two correct answers. Since we have a change in stress between forms, the teacher could also ascertain a great deal by simply asking the student to underline the stressed standard Spanish syllable as illustrated previously in the section on stress.[10]

Colorado Spanish clearly contains what is sometimes called the historical present tense. "El perro brincó y agárrame la pierna." In this case "agárrame" means "me agarró." It is commonly used to substitute for the preterite even though the preterite exists also. Therefore, an item which calls for the student to change róbanselo to se lo robaron will ordinarily present no problem as the student is merely giving an alternate form of the same tense in his own dialect. On the other hand, we can test knowledge of the standard form with the following type of multiple choice item:

Circle the letter of the sentence which in standard Spanish

means the same as the cue sentence.

a. Se lo roban.
(b) Se lo robaron.
c. Se lo robasen.

Utilization of the multiple choice format reduces the chances that the student will answer the question correctly by opting for the only other form he knows, without being sure it is correct standard Spanish. Indeed, if uncertain, he will probably choose option "c", since it contains a form which is unknown in his own dialect.

The student may at times outdo himself by using standard forms in situations where the non-standard variant should apply. For instance, in standard Spanish, the imperfect subjunctive has two variant endings following the thematic vowel: "ra" and "se". Only the first of these forms is used in Southwestern Spanish. The student must learn that unlike other words new to him which he can use with his elders, he cannot employ this one unless he wants his speech to appear affected. Such phenomena lead us to the possibility of designing test options which include three possibilities: (a) standard only, (b) local only, and (c) standard and local. In the case of a verb form like comiese, the student would classify it as a. A word such as la plebe (juventud) would be classified as b, while encarcelar would be classified as c. This gives us three possible objective answers for each item. If one were actually teaching a serious course in dialectology to Chicano students, a fourth category could be addded to the format, local non-Southwestern, for other rural dialect forms not encountered in the American Southwest.

VII. Syntax

Normally, it is best to test syntactic elements by having the student rewrite sentences in his native dialect, rendering them into the standard dialect. For example:

Dudo que viene esta noche ⟶ Dudo que venga esta noche.

As always when testing Chicano students, the instructions should be carefully worded. Under no circumstances should they read, "Rewrite the following sentences in their correct form," which is the general tendency since such instructions are commonly given to students of Spanish as a foreign language.

The non-standard imperative offers similar possibilities. For

example:

Vamos comiendo	a. Comemos
	b. Comamos
	(c.) Cómenos

Another syntactic problem which is best tested by rewriting or restating is the loan translation which occurs quite frequently. For example:

tres meses pasados	hace tres meses
Está frío hoy.	Hace frío hoy.
Hace su deber.	Cumple su deber.
Hice mi mente pa' arriba.	Decidí.
Fui pa' tras a Tejas.	Regresé a Tejas.

In testing Spanish as a foreign language one of the most popular devices used today is called the dehydrated sentence, or sentence building as it is sometimes called. For example:

señor /ir/ cine.	El señor va al cine.

The disappearance of contiguous similar and disimilar vowels, combined with the elimination of certain unstressed vowels and the reduction of consonant clusters, permits us to transfer this common technique to testing a SSSD. For example:

pa' onde	para donde
le trujerel rifle	le trajera el rifle
están casa	está en casa
siba ir	se iba a ir
va disile	va a decirle

Relative pronouns can be tested through multiple choice options, but are best handled via sentence combining due to the fact that they are often easy to recognize but difficult to recall. Similarly, fill-in-the-blank exercises of this type are often quite vague and permit more than one correct answer. For example:

Allí está el señor. Vendí el libro a él.
Allí está el señor a quien vendí el libro.

The local form of the above is "Allí está el señor que vendí el libro." Items of this type show whether the student has learned to use "quien" as a relative in place of que, in addition to approximating what many believe to be the actual encoding process. The same

format will also be useful in testing possessive relatives (cuyo, cuya, etc.) which are unknown to the local dialect speakers. ("Tengo un amigo que su papá es maestro.")

On the other hand, the one word completion format is best for testing relatives which include a preposition normally deleted in NSS. For example:

el rancho	que vive mi compadre.
la plazita	que nació mi mamá.

If, in fact, it is truly our desire that students be bidialectal, then items such as the following are not only justifiable, but are to be expected. For example:

Fill in the correct standard and local Spanish prepositions.

Todo depende (SS)	( ) mi hermano. Standard (de)	Local (en)	(local)
Estoy pensando	( ) mi hermana Alicia. (en)		(de)
Juan quedó	( ) venir a las seis. (en)		(a)

Of course one would not need to give credit for the NSS form if already known by everyone in the class. On the other hand, giving credit to the third of the class that knows them before the course begins, recognizes the knowledge students bring with them to the classroom, which is another bone of contention with many Mexican-Americans.

The teacher of Spanish as a second dialect is entirely justified in concerning himself with the Spanish spoken by Southwestern students. However, it is of critical importance that he accept and allow credit for the Spanish the student brings to class with him, and this, in my opinion, should be reflected even in the way he constructs and grades tests.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Pauline Baker. Español para los hispanos. Skokie, Illinois: National Textbook Company, 1966.

[2]It is even possible to teach both dialects when one does not know the non-standard one, by using standard Spanish as a point of departure for comparison and discussion. The more fluent students can provide non-standard equivalents. The teacher who does this will soon become bidialectical himself.

[3]See Gilberto Cerda, Berta Cabaza and Julieta Farias, Vocabulario español de Texas. Austin: University of Texas, 1953; F. M. Kercheville, "A Preliminary Glossary of New Mexican Spanish," University of New Mexico Bulletin, 1934, pp. 1-69; and Nelson Phillips, Jr., "Los Angeles Spanish: A Descriptive Analysis." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1968.

[4]See, for example, J. Donald Bowen and Robert Stockwell. The Sounds of English and Spanish. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965, and J. Donald Bowen, Robert Stockwell, and Donald W. Martin. The Grammatical Structures of English and Spanish. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965.

[5]A thorough discussion of these problems is presented in Robert Lado. Language Testing. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964.

[6]Most of the NSS examples used in this article are reported in L. Ronald Ross. "La lengua castellana en San Luis, Colorado," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Colorado, 1975.

[7]This is similar to the reaction of the standard Spanish speaker upon seeing a word like lego, which he does not recognize as meaning luego until someone tells him so.

[8]On the other hand, it can be objected that the latter two non-standard forms are even more vivid and expressive than the standard counterparts. Most probably they represent a stylistic problem which could best be corrected at the composition stage. They are included here to illustrate a SS assessment technique.

[9]See Guadalupe Valdés-Fallis. "Teaching Spanish to the Spanish-Speaking: Classroom Strategies." System, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 54-62, and James H. Ward, "Spanish Teachers and Spanish Speaking Minorities," Hispania, Vol. 55, No. 4, (December) 1972, pp. 893-895.

[10]However, before using this technique, it may be necessary to train students to perceive the place where they already apply the spoken stress automatically.

HOW PROFICIENT IS THE BILINGUAL STUDENT IN HIS BILINGUALITY?

by

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The current concern for the injustices done in the past to the "bilingual person" in the academic world has made us aware how little we know about him and how much we have to learn in order to do him/her justice. The main difficulty in approaching an understanding of the bilingual person is that we do not know just how to determine how proficient the bilingual student is in his bilinguality. It goes without saying that when this nut is cracked, we will be able to properly advise and place the student in the right classes.

I do not pretend to present concrete answers to this main problem, but rather share a report that may suggest solutions to many of our problems. Let us call it a case study: "California State University at Long Beach (hereafter CSULB) faces up to the bilingual concern."

Long before we know the student in person, we show our genuine concern for him. Once students have been recruited for admission and enrollment in the University through EOP, a committee of four faculty and three staff members serves as a screening committee, of which I am at present the chairman. The committee examines an average of 800 applications and makes recommendations for admission, rejection or advisement, that is, recommendation to enroll in a Jr. College for a year or two and reapply later. Incidentally, EOP entrance is not limited to bilingual students. It includes all ethnic individuals who are considered educationally deprived (low GPA) and are economically needy.

In this report we are concerned only with language performance. Each applicant is asked to submit an essay with his application expounding his reason for further education. The essay is studied carefully as to content and structure. In most cases the essay is the determining factor as to his placement in an English class. If the student scores 18 on ACT or on the committee's recommendation he is enrolled in English 100. The others are enrolled in MEXA 104A/B or 102E to meet the English requirements (English 170 for black students and English monolinguals).

When an EOP student has been admitted he takes two placement tests (usually in the summer) before enrolling. The cut-off point of the placement tests is 100 out of 127 for Spanish and 70 out of 87 for English. The means that students scoring 100 or above and 70 or above in Spanish and English, respectively were asked to enroll

in the second semester of the sequence, that is, MEXA 103B for Spanish and 104B for English. There was also an experimental class 102E in which both English and Spanish were taught. Students completing this course with a "C" or better were enrolled in MEXA 103B and 104B.

It must be understood that all students had to enroll in the English courses MEXA 104A/B or 102E because this is a University requirement as a substitute for English 100, but many students did not enroll in the Spanish counterpart since a foreign language is not required for graduation.

The concern and close cooperation between the Educational Opportunities Program, Chicano Bilingual Special Services, Mexican-American Studies, and the Spanish Department is producing practical results, though there is a lot more to be done. The intent is to provide placement tests; once enrolled, there would be pre-tests and post-tests, but things have not yet reached this stage. The following random sampling of students' performance has been examined:

Placement Exam	Courses and Results
*1. English 64/87 Spanish 99/127	102E A 201A B 201B
2. English 44/87 No Spanish	no record
3. No English Spanish 116/127	103B A
*4. English 68/87 Spanish 103/127	102E A 201A B 201B
5. English 42/87 Spanish 0/127	102E D
*6. No English Spanish 85/127	103A/B B/A 201B
7. English 44/87 Spanish 6/127	102E dropped
*8. English 62/87 Spanish I/127	103A C
9. English 53/87 Spanish 91/127	104A ?

10.	English 45/87 Spanish 45/127	102E	C
11.	English 51/87 Spanish 48/127	103A	?
12.	English 45/87 Spanish 45/127	102E	C
13.	English 30/87 Spanish 0/127	102E	dropped
14.	English 32/87 Spanish 53/127	104A 103A	dropped dropped

Validity of placement exams:

*1.	99/127	102E	A
3.	103/127	102E	A
10.	45/127	102E	C } coincidence?
12.	45/127	102E	C } coincidence?
5.	0/127	102E	D
13.	0/127	102E	dropped } should have been placed in Spanish 101A.
7.	6/127	102E	dropped } should have been placed in Spanish 101A.
6.	85/127	103A/B	B/A
3.	116/127	103A	A
8.	1/127	103A	C } should have been placed in Spanish 101A?
11.	48/127	103A	? } should have been placed in Spanish 101A?
14.	53/127	103A	dropped

On basic principles, students 5, 7 and 13 should have been sent to Spanish 101A for monolinguals. Judging by student 8, the deficiency might have been that of reading and writing and nor oral proficiency.

I. Caveats

For the validity of the tests and their interpretation we must examine various factors. First, how valid is the test? Tests are invalid as soon as they are implemented. The reason for this is that tests are not really validated until they are tried and the flaws rise to the surface. One simple flaw in the test in question is that the directions or instructions are both in Spanish and English, and we fail to remember that the students are usually trained

only in English. In addition, their grammatical training might be less than satisfactory. Let us now look at one random test and try to analyze the validity of its results and interpretation by the staff: MEXA 103A Pre-Test, Fall 1974.

The pre-test is intended to be used also as a post-test with the idea in mind that a comparison of the results of the two tests will be another measure as to the student's progress. In any case, I do not intend to bore you at length with the contents of the test. I do, however, wish to comment on several points of one student's test which were considered outright wrong or incorrect. The errors or incorrectness I classify as follows: (a) spelling, (b) dialect or idiolect, (c) ignorance of grammatical terminology, and (d) oral proficiency. For example:

(a) Spelling

I. ¿Por qúe LES (tú) en voz alta? (leer)
Yo sé que no me PARESO a mi hermano. (parecer)
EL TRABAHA demasiado. (trabajar)

IX. Ser and estar

3. El estuidiente que estén (está en) la bebloteca es muy vivo.

X. Saber vs. conocer

3. Yo no conoso (a) tu hermana pero conoso a donde vive.

XIV. Palabras interrogativas

1.	porque	(Porqué)
2.	quentes	(cuántos)
3.	quondo	(cuándo)
4.	con quin	(Con quién)
5.	adonde	(Dónde)

(b) Dialect or idiolect

IV. 1. Cuando ellos llegadon a casa.
XI. 9. Nowadays ahora (ahora) hoy día
XIV. Pronombres

2. llela (ella)

3. vendiedon (vendieron)
4. llelos los conocen. (Ellos nos conocen.)

(c) Ignorance of grammatical terminology

II. Preterite
III. Imperfect
IV. Preterite and Imperfect
V. Future
VI. Conditional
VII. Perfect
XI. Imperatives

The student scored practically zero in these seven sections or categories, because his answers were invariably in the present tense. In spite of the fact that a sample sentence was given, together with the grammatical term, nearly all the student's answers were in the present tense. Therefore, except for a few spelling or dialectal errors, the student used the right word and the right form in Spanish, but obviously the wrong tense. In the case of section IX (ser vs. estar), the student used ser and estar correctly, but his errors were elsewhere as you can judge by the example given above.

(d) Oral proficiency

There is no doubt that this student's oral proficiency is greater than his written proficiency as far as communication goes. To judge all factors wisely, the results of these tests (placement and pre-tests) and information as to formal training in Spanish or English should be made available.

What all this means is that proper interpretation of test results and information as to formal training should give us the necessary lead for proper placement and guidance in order to help the student so as to expect of him optimum performance.

This student in question, for example, received a grade of 37/127 in Spanish and 42/87 in English in the placement test and was placed in MEXA 102E. His pre-test results in this class were 25-1/2 correct and 89-1/2 wrong out of a possible 115 points.

I wish to remind you of the inaccuracies of the wrongness of these results in the four categories I have explained above. In other words, the important factor to consider is, was this student

placed in a class that would concentrate on his needs? MEXA 103A is the lowest rung of the ladder for bilinguals. The score as interpreted logically would have placed him there, but his communicative performance is greater and this should be catered to. He was actually placed in the experimental class MEXA 102E mentioned above. This student is now in the educational mill and he bears watching to see whether we are doing him justice or an injustice as far as interpreting his performance. (NOTE: This student dropped out of school before completing the course.)

I am not saying anything here of his competency in English which is basic for his survival in this society. Time would not allow us to go into it, though it is most critical. Perhaps at an ESL or English conference, this aspect could be developed.

A tremendous thing that we have going for us at CSULB is the Student Special Service Program which before a merger was called Chicano Bilingual Special Service Program. The truth of the matter is that these special services have done wonders for all minority, or rather, I should say, for all academically neglected students.

These special services provide tutoring for all those who need it, and the subjects tutored are not limited to English and Spanish. My point is that all those students who seek out these services and take advantage of them religiously, manage to survive in the system. Better yet, I could say that everyone who takes advantage of these services manages to earn a C grade or better. Statistics show that many who chose not to utilize these services become probationary students or dropouts.